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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS OF GRADE
NINE PUPILS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE
CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR PRIMARY
AND SECONDARY GROUPS

by

HUBERT WILLIAM KITCHEN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Relationships between the Value-Orientations of Grade Nine Pupils in Newfoundland and the Characteristics of Their Primary and Secondary Groups" submitted by Hubert William Kitchen in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

This study related the operational philosophies of life of grade nine pupils in Newfoundland to the characteristics of their community, family and peers, and to their own experience. Philosophies of life were measured by a written questionnaire yielding seventeen value-orientation scores, and based largely on Florence Kluckhohn's rationale. Returns from mailed questionnaires administered in a two-hour sitting by principals were received from 2151 pupils of some 250 communities and attending 168 of the 175 Anglican schools offering grade nine. School principals and government officials provided most of the information for community variables, while pupils indicated family characteristics and their own involvement with mass media, church activities, and peer groups. Analysis of variance was used to compare the value-orientations of the different classifications of pupils.

The findings indicated Redfield's peasant-urban continuum to be a somewhat useful model in predicting variations in value-orientations. Pupils in larger communities tended to have a greater preference for Mastery-over-Nature, and lesser preferences for Subject-to-Nature or Harmony-with-Nature. When other variables, such as degree of industrialization, television coverage, isolation, religious homogeneity or proportion of inhabitants fishing, were used to classify pupils by community position on the peasant-urban continuum, findings were similar. Also, these same preferences were found for pupils who were residentially mobile, less involved with church activities, or more involved with television. For other value-orientations the model also predicted accurately. Pupils more involved in modern urban society were more Present-oriented, less Future-oriented,

more Individualistically-oriented, more oriented toward Intergenerational Lineality, less toward Bureaucratic Lineality than pupils less involved. Pupils at both ends of the continuum tended to be more Being-oriented, less Doing-oriented than those in transitional or emerging positions. For two scales, however, the model was not useful.

A second model, relating some value-orientations to pupil involvement in teenage sub-culture, was found to have some weak ability to predict. Pupils more involved tended, for example, to be more Being-oriented, less Doing-oriented, more Present-oriented, less Past-oriented, more Collaterally-oriented, less Individualistically-oriented.

A third model related several of a pupil's value-orientations to the entrepreneurial or bureaucratic nature of father's occupation. While not useful, apparently, for white collar groups it did predict rather well on some value-orientations for blue collar and fishing occupations. For example, children of independent fishermen were most Individualistically-oriented, least Lineally-oriented or Collaterally-oriented.

The dominant value-orientations of the pupils taken as an aggregate were Mastery-over-Nature, Doing, Collaterality and Present Time. Individualism, Being, Harmony-with-Nature and Past Time were least important, with Lineality, Being-in-Becoming, Subject-to-Nature and Future Time of intermediate or second-order importance.

In all, the study demonstrated the productivity of examining empirically intracultural variations in value-orientations, and suggested differences of which school administrators, including teachers, might wish to be aware.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE PROBLEM	1
Purposes of the Study	1
Significance of the Study	2
Organization of the Report	4
II. THE THEORY OF DOMINANT AND VARIANT VALUE-ORIENTATIONS . . .	6
Human Problems and Value-Orientations	6
Value-Orientations: Profiles and Ranking Patterns . . .	12
Concepts Underlying the Theory	15
Four Cornerposts of the Theoretical Structure	19
III. PEASANT SOCIETIES: THEIR VALUE-ORIENTATIONS	30
The Characteristics of Folk Society	30
Peasant Society	32
Value-Orientations of Peasant Societies	36
Summary	41
IV. DOMINANT AND VARIANT VALUE-ORIENTATIONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY	42
The Man-Nature Problem	44
The Activity Problem	51
The Time Problem	62
The Relational Problem	65
Value-Orientations of the Middle Classes	81
Value-Orientations of the Lower Classes	94
Value-Orientations of the Upper Classes	106
Value-Orientations and Models of American Society	110
Summary	115

CHAPTER	PAGE
V. HIGH SCHOOL PEER GROUPS AND VALUE-ORIENTATIONS	117
The Activity Problem	118
The Relational Problem	126
The Time and Nature Problems	135
Summary	135
VI. NEWFOUNDLAND: TRADITIONAL AND EMERGENT VALUE-ORIENTATIONS	137
Traditional Outport Life	137
Modernization	142
Changing Value-Orientations	144
Summary	154
VII. RESEARCH DESIGN	155
The Hypotheses	155
Value-Orientation Scales: The Criterion Variables	157
Instruments to Measure Treatment Variables	166
The Collection of Data	169
The Sample	171
Data Processing	173
Statistical Analysis	174
Test-Retest Reliability	178
VIII. VALUE-ORIENTATION PROFILES OF NEWFOUNDLAND PUPILS	185
IX. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS	191
Population	191
Proportion of Inhabitants Fishing	199
Degree of Industrialization	202
Strength of Transportation Link	206

CHAPTER	PAGE
Proportion of Community Anglican	210
Strength of Television Coverage	212
Strength of Municipal Government	214
Regions	215
Summary	223
X. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS	228
Father's Occupation	228
Mother's Occupation before Marriage	233
Parental Education	238
Father's Travels	241
Mobility Indices	247
Summary	254
XI. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND PUPIL EXPERIENCES	256
Pupil's Previous Residential Experience	256
Involvement in Church Activities	261
Mass Media Involvement	275
Summary	284
XII. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND INVOLVEMENT IN TEENAGE SUB-CULTURE	285
High School Enrolment	287
Involvement with Local Peers	291
Involvement in the General Teenage Sub-culture	299
Summary	301
XIII. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS IN FAMILIES ENTREPRENEURIAL AND BUREAUCRATIC	303
White Collar Entrepreneurs, Employees and Bureaucrats	303

CHAPTER	PAGE
Blue Collar Entrepreneurs, Employees and Bureaucrats . .	306
The Fisherman Entrepreneur	307
All Bureaucrats and All Entrepreneurs	307
Summary	309
XIV. SYNTHESIS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	310
Synopsis of the Theory	310
Summary of Procedure	311
Findings and Discussion: Value-Orientation Scales . . .	312
Findings: Useful Independent Variables	325
Findings: Implications for the Theory	326
Needed Research	332
Implications for School Administration	334
Concluding Statement	335
BIBLIOGRAPHY	337
APPENDICES	350
A. Student's Questionnaire	351
B. Community Questionnaire	367
C. Indices of Factors Influencing Value-Orientations:	
the Treatment Variables	370
D. Letter of Permission from the Anglican Superintendent of	
Schools	383
E. Anglican Schools in Newfoundland with Pupils in Grade IX	
during 1963-64, Their Principals, and the Extent of Their	
Participation in the Research	384
F. Preliminary Letter to Principals	391

APPENDIX

PAGE

G. Procedures for Questionnaires	393
H. First Follow-up Letter	395
I. Second Follow-up Letter	396
J. Letter Thanking Principals and Pupils, and Requesting Completion of Probes	397
K. Supplementary Instructions for Schools Administering Questionnaires in June	398
L. Letter to Principals of Selected Schools Requesting Re- liability Retests	400
M. Intermediate Sheet from Which Pupil's I.B.M. Card was Punched.	402
N. Example of Bivariate Table used to Compute F	403

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Five Basic Human Problems and the Value-Orientations Postulated as Possible for Each	7
II.	Scales for Which the Value-Orientations Questionnaire Yields Scores	159
III.	Origin of the Man-Nature Items on the Student's Question- naire	161
IV.	Origin of the Activity Items on the Student's Questionnaire	162
V.	Origin of the Time Items on the Student's Questionnaire .	163
VI.	Origin of the Relational Items on the Student's Question- naire	164
VII.	Stability Coefficients of Value-Orientation Scales . . .	180
VIII.	Value-Orientation Scales Classified According to Stability Coefficients	182
IX.	Schools Classified According to Stability Coefficients .	183
X.	Mean Scores Made on Value-Orientation Scales by 2132 Grade Nine Pupils in Anglican Schools in Newfoundland .	186
XI.	Composite Profile of the Value-Orientations Held by Grade Nine Pupils in Anglican Schools in Newfoundland	187
XII.	The Extent to Which Statistically Significant Differences Support the Hypothesized Relationships between Value- Orientation Scores and Community Characteristics . . .	192
XIII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Population of Their Communities . . .	193
XIV.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to the Population of Their Communities . . .	195

TABLE	PAGE
XV. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Fraction of the Men in Their Communi- ties Engaged in the Fishery	200
XVI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Degree of Industrialization of Their Communities	204
XVII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Strength of Their Community's Transpor- tation Link with the Outside	207
XVIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to the Strength of Their Community's Transporta- tion Link with the Outside	208
XIX. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Fraction of Their Community Which is Anglican	211
XX. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Strength of Television Coverage in Their Communities	213
XXI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Strength of Municipal Government in Their Communities	216
XXII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Whether Their Communities Have Local Govern- ment	217

TABLE	PAGE
XXIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Regions of Newfoundland in Which They Live	219
XXIV. The Extent to Which the Statistically Significant Differ- ences Support the Hypothesized Relationships between Value- Orientation Scores and Family Characteristics	229
XXV. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Father's Occupation: Peasant-Urban Occu- pation Index	230
XXVI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Father's Occupation: Present Status	234
XXVII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Father's Occupation: Superordinate Index	235
XXVIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Mother's Occupation before Marriage	236
XXIX. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Father's Education	239
XXX. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Mother's Education	240
XXXI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Father's Travels: Years Working on U.S. Bases	243
XXXII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Father's Travels: Years Working Elsewhere in Newfoundland	244

TABLE	PAGE
XXXIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Father's Travels: Years Working Outside New- foundland	245
XXXIV. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Father's Travels: Years Overseas in Wartime	246
XXXV. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Parental Mobility along Peasant-Urban Occu- pation Index	248
XXXVI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Father's Previous Residential Experience . .	249
XXXVII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Mother's Premarital Residence, Where Child- hood Settlement Known	250
XXXVIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Regrouped According to Settlement of Mother's Premarital Occupation, Where Childhood Settlement Unknown	251
XXXIX. The Extent to Which the Statistically Significant Differences Support the Hypothesized Relationships between Value-Ori- entation Scores and Pupil Experiences	257
XL. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Previous Residential Experience	259
XLI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Sex	262
XLII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Hours per Week Claimed Attending Church Services	263

TABLE	PAGE
XLIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Boys Grouped According to Hours per Week Claimed Attending Church Services	264
XLIV. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Girls Grouped According to Hours per Week Claimed Attending Church Services	265
XLV. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Sunday School Attendance	267
XLVI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Boys Grouped According to Sunday School Attendance	268
XLVII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Girls Grouped According to Sunday School Attendance	269
XLVIII. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Hours of Weekly Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Organizations	270
XLIX. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Boys Grouped According to Hours of Weekly Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Organizations	271
L. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Girls Grouped According to Hours of Weekly Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Organizations	272
LI. Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils, in Com- munities Where Most Homes Have Sets, Grouped According to Hours per Week Watching Television	277

TABLE

PAGE

LII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Boys and Grade Nine Girls, in Communities Where Most Homes Have Sets, Grouped According to Hours per Week Watching Tele- vision	278
LIII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Hours per Week Spent Listening to Radio . . .	279
LIV.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Grade Nine Boys and Grade Nine Girls Grouped According to Hours per Week Spent Listening to Radio	280
LV.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of All Pupils, Boys, and Girls Grouped According to Hours per Week Attending Movies	281
LVI.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped Ac- cording to Hours per Week Reading Newspapers and Magazines	282
LVII.	The Extent to Which Statistically Significant Differences Support the Hypothesized Relationships between Value- Orientation Scores and Involvement in Teenage Sub-culture	286
LVIII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Number of Grade Nine Pupils in Their School	288
LIX.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Number of High School Pupils in Their School	289
LX.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Their Kind of School	290

TABLE

LXI.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Hours per Week at Extracurricular Activities	293
LXII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Hours per Week at Youth Groups	294
LXIII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Number of Evenings per Week Spent with Peers	295
LXIV.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to the Frequency with Which They Date	296
LXV.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Whether They Attend Church with Peers or Parents	297
LXVI.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Time Spent Listening to Teenage Music . . .	300
LXVII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils Grouped According to Entrepreneurial-Bureaucratic Nature of Father's Occupation	304
LXVIII.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils outside St. John's Grouped According to Entrepreneurial-Bureau- cratic Nature of Father's Occupation	305
LXIX.	Mean Scores on Value-Orientation Scales of Pupils outside St. John's Regrouped According to Bureaucratic-Entrepre- neurial Nature of Father's Occupation	308

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

This study dealt with relationships between the values people hold and the characteristics of their primary and secondary groups. More specifically, it developed and tested the theory that the values of high school pupils approach those typical of folk society or of urban society according to the degree to which they are involved in these ways of life. Respondents were chosen from various schools in Newfoundland, a province undergoing rapid modernization and whose communities appeared to be in various stages along a peasant society-urban society continuum.

Subjects completed a questionnaire in two parts. The first, adapted from cross-cultural research by anthropologists and consisting of some thirty real-life problematic situations each with three alternative solutions, was designed to measure certain of the respondents' values. The second part, requesting information about parents, peers and community, established the characteristics of the pupils' primary and secondary groups.

In analyzing these data there were examined (1) the consensus in values of the total sample of pupils, and (2) differences in values among pupils whose groups differed.

I. PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The major purpose of the study was to develop and test the theory that the values of high school pupils vary from or towards those typical

of modern American urban society and its components, or from or towards those typical of Newfoundland outport society, according to the degree to which these students and their primary and secondary groups are involved in these ways of life. Other important purposes were to identify dominant values of Newfoundland society and to determine the extent to which variations in these values existed among certain groups and individuals within that society. Finally, this study attempted to see if Kluckhohn's theory of value-orientations and an adaptation of her research instrument would be useful for measuring intracultural variation as well as for the intercultural variation demonstrated by her and her associates as being possible.¹

II. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study for educational administration stands upon the assumption that fundamental to a consideration of schools and their administration is knowledge of the social context within which they operate, of the human variability without and within. This includes an understanding of the philosophies of life that people hold, of the value systems guiding their behaviour, the processes by which values are acquired, intergroup differences in values, the direction of value change and the forces impelling or preventing it.

Research had already investigated to some extent the factors underlying variability in values. This included studies of the variables

¹Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961).

underlying the differential ranking of certain tasks of the public school,¹ studies of value change in modernizing nations,² the study of value-orientations of five cultures in the American Southwest,³ investigations of value differences among school children⁴ and college students,⁵ and research into the social system of the high school including values of adolescents.⁶ Unique to the present study were the investigation of relationships between values and group characteristics within the framework of a peasant-urban continuum, the use of an adaptation of a cross-cultural instrument to measure value variability among high school students, and the selection for study of a rapidly modernizing province in a supposedly modern nation.

It is hoped that the research will increase knowledge about both modern American urban society and emerging Newfoundland outport society, will strengthen understanding of the role of primary and secondary groups

¹L. W. Downey, R. C. Seager and A. T. Slagle, The TPE Opinionnaire (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958); John H. M. Andrews, Public and Professional Opinion Regarding the Tasks of the Public Schools of Alberta (Edmonton: Division of Educational Administration, University of Alberta, 1959).

²Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958).

³Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit.

⁴Allison Davis, Social Class Influences Upon Learning (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).

⁵Doris Klein Campbell, "Differences of Values Among College Students at Different Class Levels," Dissertation Abstracts, 23 (April, 1963), 3809; Alfred Eugene Thomey, "A Study of Values of a Selected Group of Undergraduate Students," Dissertation Abstracts, 23 (April, 1963), 3700.

⁶James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); William D. Knill, "The Teenage Sub-Culture," The Saskatchewan Bulletin, 29 (February, March, April and May, 1963).

in value-formation, and provide some useful addition to the data upon which a science of school administration can be built. This and similar research may provide a sounder basis than is presently available for the specification of educational goals and their implementation--the primary concerns of educational administration.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

To facilitate comprehension of this report, a brief guide to its organization is now presented. In Chapter II there is set forth Kluckhohn's theory of dominant and variant value-orientations, together with its assumptions, including that of limited cultural relativity. Descriptions are given of the five problems she suggests as common to all humanity. Also described for each problem are the value-orientations, or logically-possible ways of dealing with it. Some comments on her theory and its possibilities conclude the chapter.

Chapter III outlines Redfield's models of folk, urban and peasant societies, evaluates their usefulness, and uses the literature to identify their value-orientations. Chapter IV examines American society and its culture. The research of social scientists and other students is used to identify dominant value-orientations, variations in value-orientations according to social class and other groupings, and the directions of change. Chapter V deals specifically with what research and informed opinion have to say about the value-orientations of American teenagers. Chapter VI describes traditional Newfoundland outport society and notes how closely it approximates Redfield's model of peasant society, while emerging Newfoundland society, increasingly drawn within

the American orbit, is tending more and more to resemble the urban society of modern America.

Chapter VII states the hypotheses of the study, the sample used, the method of gathering data, the methods of analysis, and the delimitations of the study. Subsequent chapters present the data, analyze the findings, draw conclusions, and point out the implications of the research.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY OF DOMINANT AND VARIANT VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

This chapter presents and comments upon Florence Kluckhohn's theory of dominant and variant value-orientations.¹ First, it sets forth the five problems that she suggests are crucial to all human societies, and the value-orientations or logically-possible ways of looking at each. Next, it elaborates on the theory in discussing dominant profiles and variant patterns. The particular concepts of values and personality upon which the rationale is based are then discussed, as are its fundamental assumptions. The chapter concludes with a statement about the relationship between value-orientations and culture change.

I. HUMAN PROBLEMS AND VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Five problems are suggested tentatively by Kluckhohn as the crucial human value problems common to all groups:

1. What is the relation of man to nature including supernature?
2. What is the temporal focus of human life?
3. What is the modality of human activity?
4. What is the modality of man's relationship to other men?
5. What is the nature of innate human nature?²

Three value-orientations, or positions, for each of these questions

¹Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961).

²The wording of these questions was adapted from that appearing in Kluckhohn and Strodbeck.

except the last are seen as possible. These value-orientations are set forth in Table I and discussed below.

TABLE I
FIVE BASIC HUMAN PROBLEMS AND THE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS
POSTULATED AS POSSIBLE FOR EACH^a

Problem	Value-Orientations Possible		
Man-Nature	Subject-to-Nature	Harmony-with-Nature	Mastery-over-Nature
Time	Past	Present	Future
Activity	Being	Being-in-Becoming	Doing
Relational	Lineality	Collaterality	Individualism
Human Nature	Evil	Neutral Mixture of	Good
	-----	Good and Evil	-----
	Mutual Immutable	Mutable Immutable	Mutable Immutable

^aThis table is similar to that appearing in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, page 12, except that "problem" has been substituted for "Value-Orientation" and "Value-Orientations Possible" for "Postulated Range of Variations." To avoid confusion, it has appeared necessary, not only in this table but throughout the present report, to use "Value-Orientations" to refer to the possible positions with respect to the basic problems rather than use it to refer both to problems and positions, as Florence Kluckhohn does.

The Man-Nature Problem

Three value-orientations are seen as possible with respect to the Man-Nature problem: Subject-to-Nature, Mastery-over-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature.¹

¹In this section, all that will be acknowledged are direct quotations from Kluckhohn and some key sources that she has used. However, most of the

Subject-to-Nature. The Subject-to-Nature or fatalistic orientation sees man as defenceless in the face of the forces of nature. Death, sickness, the elements, poor crops, or, conversely, long life, health and prosperity are beyond his control, are expressions of the Will of God. Man simply accepts good fortune or bad as inevitable.

Mastery-over-Nature.

The Mastery-over-Nature position is the first-order (that is, the dominant) orientation of most Americans. Natural forces of all kinds are to be overcome and put to the use of human beings. Rivers everywhere are spanned with bridges; mountains have roads put through and around them; new lakes are built, sometimes in the heart of deserts; old lakes get partially filled in when additional land is needed for building sites, roads or airports; the belief in man-made medical care for the control of illness and the lengthening of life is strong to an extreme; and all are told early in life that "the Lord helps those who help themselves." The view in general is that it is part of man's duty to overcome obstacles; hence there is the great emphasis upon technology.

Harmony-with-Nature. Those holding this orientation see no real separation of man, nature and supernature. One is simply an extension of the other, and a conception of wholeness derives from the unity. Things will turn out better, there will be less misfortune, where people live properly, follow the prescribed patterns, do all the necessary things to live in harmony with nature's ways, with God's ways.

wording of both the value-orientations and problems, and virtually all the ideas underlying them have been synthesized by the investigator from the writings of Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, chiefly from these four: (1) "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations," Social Forces, 28 (May, 1950), 376-93; (2) "Value Orientations," Toward A General Theory of Human Behavior, Roy R. Grinker, editor (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956), 83-93; (3) "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," Variations in Value Orientations, op. cit.; (4) "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry A. Murray and David M. Schneider, editors (second edition; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 342-57.

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 13.

The Activity Problem

Three distinct modes of Activity can be distinguished: Being, Being-in-Becoming and Doing.¹

Being. The Being value-orientation stresses the "isness" of personality, the spontaneous expression of the "givens" of impulse and desire. Instead of stressing development, it emphasizes the release and indulgence of existing desires. However, it must be remembered that "the concrete behavior of individuals in concrete situations and the moral codes governing behavior usually reflect all orientations simultaneously,"² so that, for example, a Mexican fiesta while in part reflecting Being is restrained by the other orientations of Lineality and Past Time.

Being-in-Becoming. Being-in-Becoming emphasizes that kind of activity which has as its goals the development of all aspects of the self as an integrated system. The self may be contained and controlled through meditation and detachment. Going beyond Kluckhohn's description, one might point out that here the goal is the improvement of oneself, of one's understanding of the world, beauty or religion, not for material reward, nor to be able to work better nor to accomplish more, but, as an end in itself, to understand things, to develop the individual.

Doing. The Doing Activity results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards external to the acting individual. One gets things done

¹Kluckhohn points out the correspondence between these three modes of Activity and the distinctions among the Dionysian, the Appollonian and the Promethean components of personality made by Charles Morris (Varieties of Human Value. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956).

²Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 16.

by acting upon persons, things, situations. Working hard and long, doing extra work, getting results, are stressed rather than enjoying life, or developing the self.

The Time Problem

Concerning orientation towards time, three common positions can be distinguished, that is, whether dominant emphasis is placed on the past, the present, or on the future.¹

Past. Where the Past orientation is dominant, there is generally high regard for tradition. Ancestors tend to be revered. The old ways are regarded as best. Change away from tradition is deplored, toward the ways of the past encouraged. Activities should be performed as they used to be.

Present. Where the Present dominates, little attention is generally given to what has happened, while the future may be regarded as vague and unpredictable. There is no point in worrying about the future or trying to bring back the past. What is important is getting along in the world from day to day. One should live each day as it comes along, do the best one can in a kind of continuous present. Things go up and down, some get better, some worsen, but generally life is about the same.

¹Kluckhohn acknowledges the contribution to her thinking made (a) by Oswald Spengler's Decline of the West, translated by Charles F. Atkinson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926-28) differentiation of cultures into those oriented toward the timeless, ahistoric present and those ultra-historically projected into the future, and (b) by Max Weber's Essays in Sociology, translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946) connection between moral authority and the past or traditionalistic orientation. A fourth position, that of no time orientation at all, although resembling Present, can perhaps also be postulated for such peoples as the Hopi, whose language contains no tense (Benjamin L. Whorf, "The Punctual and Segmentative Aspects of Verbs in Hopi," Language, 12, 1936, 127-31).

Future. Those oriented toward the future are generally somewhat discontented with the present, see little or no virtue in tradition for the sake of tradition, desire not to be known as old-fashioned. They plan for the future, often think highly of change, believe that the future will be better for themselves and still better for their children, better than the present, better than the past.

The Relational Problem

The Lineal, the Collateral and the Individualistic are the three logically-possible principles or orientations relating man to other men.

Individualism. In accordance with the Individualistic principle, the individual's goals are seen as having primacy over group goals. The individual is himself responsible for setting and achieving his own goals. Any group decisions are made by voting, since the group is looked upon as consisting of individuals, each acting for his own advantage.

Lineality. Under the Lineal principle, group rather than individuals' goals are considered primary. The selection and the achievement of goals, sometimes even including those for the individual, are usually decided and directed by those of the group who are older, more important or looked upon as "bosses." Thus, the parent, the oldest able person of the extended family, the chief, the members of the peerage, the patron, or others in status positions that are often inherited, and, in more formal organizations, those occupying superordinate positions have responsibility for the achievement of goals, the making of decisions affecting the group, and authority over activities of others in the group.

Collaterality. In the Collateral or cooperative relationship or principle, not individuals' goals but, again, group welfare, and, especially, mutual aid are stressed. The structure is now lateral rather than lineal so that group members are of relatively equal status, somewhat similar to the biological prototype of sibling relationship. Group decisions and choices come about by unanimous or near-unanimous consent. If a boss happens to be needed for a particular activity the oldest able person need not be selected.

The Human Nature Problem

More than three orientations are logically discernible with respect to the innate goodness of human nature. Man's nature may be considered basically good, basically evil, a mixture of good and evil, or neutral. Furthermore, for each of these possibilities his nature may be considered mutable or immutable. The Puritans, for example, regarded human nature as evil but perfectible.

However, Kluckhohn did not develop a procedure for measuring these Human Nature value-orientations. Nor has the present study. Consequently, neither the problem of human nature nor that of a sixth problem--man's relationship to space--will be discussed further.

II. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS: PROFILES AND RANKING PATTERNS

Dominant Profiles

For each society or segment thereof there can be set forth a profile of value-orientations. In its simplest form this is but a summary of the dominant orientations. Since the Mormon community of Rimrock was found

generally to stress the Individualistic value-orientation rather than the Collateral or the Lineal, the Individualistic value-orientation can be said to be dominant or to have first-order preference. The complete dominant profile among these Mormons was found to be composed of Individualistic, Future, Mastery-over-Nature and Doing value-orientations.¹

Ranking Value-Orientations

Yet the dominance of a particular value-orientation does not necessarily exclude the other two. For example, with respect to the Relational problem, the Lineal, the Collateral and the Individualistic value-orientations may co-exist within the same society. As Kluckhohn writes:

It is in the nature of the case that all societies, all groups, must give some attention to all three principles. Individual autonomy cannot be and is not ignored by the most extreme type of Gemeinschaft. Collaterality is found in all societies. The individual is not a human being outside a group, and one kind of group emphasis is that put upon laterally extended relationships. These are the immediate relationships in time and place. All societies also must pay some attention to the fact that individuals are biologically and culturally related to each other through time. There is always a lineal principle in relationships which is derived from age, generational differences and cultural tradition. The fundamental question is always that of emphasis.²

Thus, while a particular orientation, say Future, may be dominant in a society, the other orientations--Past and Present--will generally be sometimes chosen either in certain behaviour areas or by certain groups and individuals.

Variation by behaviour spheres. Several social institutions or behaviour spheres--economic and occupational, religious, intellectual-aesthetic, recreational, political, familial--can be distinguished in many societies. In

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 258.

²Floriene Kluckhohn, "Value Orientations," op. cit., 88.

some of these behaviour spheres the members of a society may in general hold a value-orientation that they do not hold for most behaviour spheres. For example, although the Rimrock Navaho usually chose the Doing orientation, yet with respect to working for wages they preferred the Being orientation.¹ Similarly, Florence Kluckhohn suggests elsewhere, while the Individualistic orientation may generally be dominant throughout the United States in the occupational behaviour sphere, yet the Collateral orientation seems dominant in the recreational sphere.² Again, one's value-orientations may well vary according to one's roles in the various spheres. Thus, a senior pupil may as prefect prefer the Lineal orientation, as hockey player the Collateral, and as son the Individualistic orientation.

Variation by groups and individuals. Some groups and individuals within a society may hold orientations which differ from those of most people. For example, while most Rimrock Navaho generally chose the Present Time orientation, some of the old people tended to prefer the Past orientation. Differences by sex were also found.³ It must be emphasized that while a society taken as a whole may hold a certain dominant profile of value-orientations, various individuals or groups may hold other or variant profiles.

Rank order patterns. When considering a single individual and a single behaviour sphere, a particular value-orientation may be dominant, but a second may be preferred over the third. Thus Future Time may be dominant

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 318.

²Florence Kluckhohn, "Value Orientations," op. cit., 89.

³Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 325-30.

but Past preferred to Present. This ranking of preference may be written Future over Past over Present. This ranking may also refer not just to one behaviour sphere but may summarize a person's preferences in all spheres. Thus, a person may be said usually to hold a Future over Past over Present ranking of Time value-orientations. Here it must be remembered that usually is a kind of average and as such may obscure the total situation, namely, that the person's preferred value-orientation may well vary from one behaviour sphere to another. This ranking of Future over Past over Present may be used in a third way, that is, to refer to the preferences of a whole society, in which case there may well be obscured variations by behaviour spheres, or by individuals--that is, from one individual or group to another--or by both at once. Sometimes, for example when Future is preferred as often as Present, there may be no clear-cut preference for either orientation.

Complete Profile

The complete profile for a society would state not only the dominant orientations but the rank ordering of orientations for each problem, and, even more completely, rank-orderings by behaviour spheres and by sub-groups and individuals.

III. CONCEPTS UNDERLYING THE THEORY

Implicit in the theory of dominant and variant value-orientations are particular concepts of values, value-orientations and personality.

Values

By "values" is meant not merely desires or needs but, as Clyde Kluckhohn suggests, "conceptions of the desirable":

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.

This concept stresses the desirable, that is, what ought to be desired or preferred rather than what is desired or preferred, although the two may closely fit. The word "selection" in the above definition implies that there is a choice between alternative courses of action or within a range of possibilities. Again, the conception may be explicit or implicit, that is, "verbalizable" although not necessarily verbalized. Finally, while a value is a conception, rather than an act of behaviour, it must over time be related to behaviour:

. . .any given act is seen as a compromise between motivations, situational conditions, available means, and the means and goals as interpreted in value terms. Motivation arises in part from biological and situational factors. Motivation and values are both influenced by the unique life history of the individual and by culture.²

Williams, in accepting Kluckhohn's definition of values, indicates that an individual's values are conceptual, affectively charged, important rather than trivial, not the goals of action but rather the criteria by which they are chosen. Values underlie institutions but are less specific, less changeable. They are "affective conceptions of the desirable--of the desirable qualities of objects, behavior, or social structures, and systems."³

¹Clyde Kluckhohn et al., "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," Towards a General Theory of Action, Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, editors (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 395.

²Ibid., 403.

³Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (second edition; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 402.

Values and Value-Orientations

Kahl suggests that "value orientations" be the name given to organized systems of values:

Values are convictions shared by people in a given culture or subculture about the things they consider good, important, or beautiful. Values define the ends of life and the approved means of approaching them. They tend to become organized into systems, and when a group of people share a limited number of abstract values which organize and relate a large number of specific values, we call them value orientations.¹

In Florence Kluckhohn's theory a more specific meaning is used. Value-orientations are the logically-possible alternatives to certain problems posited as common to all societies. They, and the manner in which they are preferred or ranked in the various areas of behaviour, are values. They form part of the individual's personality, part of the group's culture, and, as she suggests, give direction to human life:

Value-orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process--the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements--which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of "common human" problems.²

Value-Orientations and Personality

Because one's value-orientations, one's effective world view, are a major part of his personality, an important consideration in discussing value-orientations is the theory of personality and personality determination--that of Clyde Kluckhohn and O. H. Mowrer--which underlies them. Kluckhohn and

¹Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1953), 10.

²Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, op. cit., 4.

Mowrer provide a four-by-four classification of some sixteen personality determinants, since, according to them, personality is formed by the interaction of cultural, social, biological, and physical-environmental influences, each of which has universal, communal, role and idiosyncratic aspects.¹ These last are described by Hoebel:

- (1) The universal, those relatively constant for all mankind, whatever the environment, whatever the culture, whatever the race;
- (2) the communal, those determinants which are relatively constant and unique for all members of a given society as against the members of other societies;
- (3) the role, those determinants which are linked to different statuses within a society; and
- (4) the idiosyncratic, those determinants which are uniquely individual, either in constitution or life history.²

Thus, value-orientations and their patterns of preference, as part of personality, have their universal aspects, that is, there are limits to their variation. They can be expected to vary somewhat from society to society, and, within a given society, from one status group to another. To some extent an individual's value-orientations and ranking patterns may be unique. Later, in Chapter IV, there will be discussed, with respect to the role aspect in America, first, how value-orientations vary not only according to social class but according to such other secondary groupings as religion, rural-urban residence and ethnicity; and, secondly, the influences of primary groups.

The research by Florence Kluckhohn and her associates among five groups in New Mexico was devoted primarily to the study of the communal

¹Clyde Kluckhohn and O. H. Mowrer, "Culture and Personality," American Anthropologist, 46 (January-March, 1944), 1-29.

²E. Adamson Hoebel, Man in the Primitive World (second edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1958), 574-75.

aspects of value-orientations, to within-culture regularities and intercultural variation.¹ The present study deals chiefly with intracultural variation or what the foregoing rationale terms role determinants.

To summarize, there is set forth below Clyde Kluckhohn's statement of the determinants of an individual's world view:

There is a "philosophy" behind the way of life of every individual and of every relatively homogeneous group at any given point in their histories. This gives with varying degrees of explicitness or implicitness, some sense of coherence or unity to living both in cognitive and affective dimensions. Each personality gives to this "philosophy" an idiosyncratic coloring, and creative individuals will markedly reshape it. However, the main outlines of the fundamental values, existential assumptions, and basic abstractions have only exceptionally been created out of the stuff of unique biological heredity and peculiar life experience. The underlying principles arise out of, or are limited by, the givens of biological human nature and the universalities of social interaction. The specific formulation is ordinarily a cultural product. In the immediate sense, it is from the life-ways which constitute the designs for living of their community or tribe or region or socio-economic class or nation or civilization that most individuals derive most of their "mental-feeling outlook."²

IV. FOUR CORNERPOSTS OF THE THEORETICAL STRUCTURE

What may be termed the four anthropological cornerposts of the theoretical structure underlying dominant and variant value-orientations are the following statements:

1. Values are not absolute but largely relative, varying from society to society.
2. The givens of human biology, psychology, and environment limit value variation and suggest some universal values.

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit.

²Clyde Kluckhohn et al., op. cit., 409-10.

3. Within any particular society, readily observable regularities of behaviour, and dominant concepts of the desirable exist.

4. Within any particular society or group, individuals and sub-groups may vary from the dominant modalities, sometimes to the extent of adopting variant modalities of behaviour and concepts of the desirable.

The theory of dominant and variant value-orientations, in setting forth that there are a number of common human problems each with a limited number of alternatives which are combined into ranking patterns varying somewhat by behaviour area, and according to society, sub-cultural secondary and primary groups, and individuals, assumes the validity of these four statements. Each of them, together with its support in the literature, will now be examined in more detail. The congruency between them and the communal, universal, role, and idiosyncratic determinants of personality mentioned in the preceding section is apparent.¹

Cultural Relativism and Cultural Absolutism

Present theories of a limited cultural relativism represent a synthesis largely of early theories of cultural absolutism or evolutionism, and their later antithesis of cultural relativism. Each will now be discussed briefly.

The works of Tylor and Morgan illustrate the tendency of anthropologists and others prior to the end of the first quarter of the present

¹Ralph Linton (The Cultural Background of Personality. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1945. 127-28.) states that anthropologists with intimate knowledge of non-European societies are in substantial agreement on certain points about personality, an important part of which, he says, is the underlying covert value-attitude systems. These points of agreement are: "(1) Personality norms differ in different societies. (2) The members of any society will always show considerable variation in personality. (3) Much of the same range of variation and much the same personality types are to be found in all societies."

century to view the peoples of the world as occupying positions along an evolutionary ladder, with the nations of the modern West and to a lesser extent such earlier civilizations as Greece, Rome, Egypt, China, as being farther advanced than other societies. Man, it was thought, was progressing fitfully toward the absolute in culture and organization, and in aesthetic, moral and social values.¹ Consistent with this viewpoint was that of the burden of the white man, particularly of the upper-class European, to bring about the growth of primitive peoples and the lower classes to his own high level of perfection.² Thus, Tylor writes:

As the foregoing chapters have proved, savage and barbarous tribes often more or less fairly represent stages of culture through which our own ancestors passed long ago, and their customs and laws often explain to us, in ways we should otherwise have hardly guessed, the sense and reason of our own.³

Morgan, dividing the evolutionary continuum into the three phases of savagery, barbarism and civilization, further divides the first two into lower, middle and upper stages. He marvels at the success of a portion of mankind in attaining civilization:

We are forced to the conclusion that it was the result, as to the time of its achievement, of a series of fortuitous circumstances. It may well serve to remind us that we owe our present condition, with its multiplied means of safety and happiness, to the struggles,

¹Other well-known supporters of this lineal theory of cultural evolution were Marx, Engels, Sir James Frazer and J. F. McLennan.

²Frequent references to non-Western countries as "under-developed" or "backward," even by people of these countries, and to lower social classes as "under-privileged," indicate how widely this viewpoint is still held. That many areas of the world are becoming "westernized," more like the Western nations, particularly like the United States, or to experience a belated parallel development, and that lower classes in the United States are tending to merge with the middle class perhaps indicate for this notion a kernel of pragmatic validity.

³Edward B. Tylor, Anthropology (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1909), 401.

the sufferings, the heroic exertions and the patient toil of our barbarous, and more remotely, of our savage ancestors. Their labors, their trials and their successes were a part of the plan of the Supreme Intelligence to develop a barbarian out of a savage, and a civilized man out of this barbarian.¹

Two distinct but related ideas are embodied in these earlier writers: an evolution basically lineal, and a kind of absolutism in that Western society is regarded as the best or highest to date. Furthermore, according to the "Great Books Theory" of Robert M. Hutchins, a more recent writer, the fundamental and eternal truths which are valid under all circumstances and conditions are embodied in their present form in the great literary classics which should constitute the core of any educational program.² The Harvard report on general education, in taking the significant values of human culture as being limited to the Mediterranean basin, Europe and America, similarly reflects these notions.³

The ethnocentrism exemplified in the foregoing has tended, particularly in anthropology but less noticeably in university faculties of fine arts and English, to be less firmly held in recent years.⁴ Sometimes, due

¹Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society: Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1877), 563. Morgan, like others of these writers, saw civilization as continuing to evolve beyond the present.

²Robert M. Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936). Clyde Kluckhohn has referred to this notion of Hutchins' as "a gigantic piece of cultural impudence." ("Education, Values, and Anthropological Relativity," Culture and Behavior: Collected Essays of Clyde Kluckhohn, Richard Kluckhohn, editor. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962. 293).

³Harvard Committee on the Objectives of Education in a Free Society, General Education in a Free Society (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945).

⁴The Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values (Gordon W. Allport, Philip E. Vernon and Gardner Lindzey. Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. Third edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960.) similarly defines

in part to Boasian empiricism,¹ to the functionalist theories of Malinowski² and Radcliffe-Brown,³ and to Benedict's insistence that the possibilities for cultures to vary from each other are unlimited,⁴ the opposite extreme has been espoused--that of cultural relativism. According to this viewpoint, every culture is judged the equal of every other culture, each is seen as something internally consistent and aesthetically satisfying.⁵ As Herskovits, an uncompromising advocate of this widely-held (but often in modified form) position puts it:

Evaluations are relative to the cultural background out of which they arise. . . . Judgments are based on experience, and experience is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation.⁶

its values in terms largely of Western civilizations, particularly of the American upper classes. For example, in measuring aesthetic values it keeps referring to orchestral music, stained glass, ballet, and picture galleries but never to rain dances, hooked mats, or country and western music. By religion it means chiefly Christianity with a Protestant flavour, its economic man is the American financier or manufacturer. Whatever validity the scale has for studies in American "liberal arts" colleges for which it was primarily designed, it has little relevance for studies of other social classes, even less for other civilizations, or for peasant and folk societies.

¹The contribution by Franz Boas to the overthrow of lineal evolutionism is discussed by Hoebel, op. cit., 609-13.

²Bronislaw Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific (London: Routledge, 1932). For a discussion of Malinowski's contribution see Felix M. Keesing, Cultural Anthropology (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1958), 150-55.

³Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1948).

⁴Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Mentor Books, 1959). Margaret Mead's preface to the Mentor edition discusses Benedict's contribution. See also Margaret Mead, And Keep your Powder Dry (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1942), especially chapter two.

⁵Benedict, op. cit.

⁶Melville J. Herskovits, Cultural Anthropology (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), 350-51.

The following statement by Florence Kluckhohn appears to be one to which many anthropologists would currently subscribe:

From philosophy, history, and cultural anthropology the fact has been demonstrated ever more convincingly that there is a definite variability in the ways of life human beings build for themselves. Within the past three decades cultural anthropologists especially have gone far in jarring the minds of intellectuals loose from the comfortable but shallow moorings of absolutistic thinking. Indeed, the theory of cultural relativity has at times threatened to override all conceptions of universals and has thus become, when taken too literally, almost as restrictive to an understanding of human behavior as the naive forms of evolutionism or economic determinism. But in spite of the necessary reservations about some of the extreme statements on cultural relativity, no one who concerns himself with the study of either individuals or societies can deny its tremendous significance.

The present theory in suggesting several logically-possible alternatives to each of the problems makes no assumption about the relative merits of particular ranking patterns.

Universal Values: Limits to Variability

Clyde Kluckhohn has written that although some values are relative solely to the culture, such as the Navaho use of the cradleboard, and although others are questions of taste, the existence of cultural universals implies that there be some universal values, some universal conceptions of the desirable. He notes certain biological traits shared by all societies--two sexes, helplessness of infants, the needs of food, warmth and sex, the fact that individuals within every society differ with respect to age, physique and other capacities. Among social universals he notes that the necessary cooperation for subsistence requires reciprocal behaviours, standard systems of communication, mutually-accepted values. He points out that no culture tolerates indiscriminate lying, stealing, or violence

¹Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, op. cit., 1.

with the in-group, that the incest taboo is essentially universal, that no culture values suffering as an end in itself, that there is no known culture where death is not ceremonialized, no instance whereby bodies are merely tossed outside smelling range, and that all cultures define as abnormal an individual permanently inaccessible to communication or whose actions are unpredictable. He carefully points out that a value's being universal doesn't make it an absolute, that what "is" must not be confused with what "must" or "ought to" be.

He suggests that some values, when judged against universalities of human needs, potentialities, fulfillment, or against scientific knowledge may be taken as wrong--slavery, cannibalism, Naziism and the total absence of birth control.¹ He writes:

Some values are almost purely cultural and draw their significance only from the matrix of that culture. Even the universal values have their special phrasings and emphases in accord with each distinct culture.² True universals or near-universals are apparently few in number.

Somewhat similarly, the theory of dominant and variant value-orientations suggests that there exist a limited number of basic human value problems and a limited number of ways of approaching each.

¹The above is a synthesis of four articles by Clyde Kluckhohn: "Universal Categories of Culture," Anthropology Today, Alfred L. Kroeber, editor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 507-23; "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action," op. cit.; "Education, Values, and Anthropological Relativity," op. cit., 286-300; Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, "Personality Formation: The Determinants," Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry A. Murray and David M. Schneider, editors (second edition; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 53-67.

²Clyde Kluckhohn, "Education, Values, and Anthropological Relativity," op. cit., 297.

Intracultural Regularities

Anthropologists, and their colleagues in psychology, sociology and psychiatry, have from their field work produced evidence not only of differences among cultures with respect to personality, behaviour and values, but also of similarities within a culture. Thus, there arose the "culture-personality" and "national character" schools.

Kardiner, Linton and Dubois were among the first to formulate and test the hypothesis that different societies would have different "basic personalities."¹ Linton writes:

The basic personality type for any society is that personality configuration which is shared by the bulk of the society's members as a result of early experiences which they have in common. It does not correspond to the total personality of the individual but rather to the . . . value-attitude systems² which are basic to the individual's personality configuration.

Departures from basic personality type are suggested as arising from variation in child-training techniques, from atypical family life, and from other different experiences both in childhood and afterward.

This hypothesis of basic or modal personality was found valid when tested in Alor. From a study of that culture by Dubois, the probable configuration of the Alorese basic personality type was deduced. When compared with independent interpretations of the Rorschach protocols of Alorese people, correspondence was found on all important points. Studies have been made also of the basic personality structure of the Sikh, Ojibwa, Comanche and

¹Abram Kardiner (Psychological Frontiers of Society. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945) uses the term "basic personality structure," and Cora Dubois (The People of Alor. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944) "modal personality" to refer to roughly the same concept as Ralph Linton's (The Cultural Background of Personality. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945) "basic personality type."

²Ralph Linton in Kardiner, op. cit., viii.

Plainville, U.S.A., cultures.¹

Mead's research on socialization in Samoa, New Guinea, Bali and the United States suggests a relationship between inter-societal differences in typical personality traits and differences in typical child-rearing techniques.² Benedict, while not particularly concerned with socialization, but rather with the integration of institutions within a culture, stresses within-culture regularity, the tendency of members of a society towards similarity.³ Fromm's "social character" defined as "the nucleus of the character structure which is shared by most members of the same culture,"⁴ Sapir's "unconscious systems of meanings," and Opler's "culture themes" are concepts similar to basic personality, although the last two are less psychologically oriented.⁵ Redfield stresses the importance of understanding a society's "world view"--the whole meaningful universe as seen by the native from the inside.⁶

¹Kardiner, op. cit.

²Of Margaret Mead's many publications in this field, perhaps the following best present her point of view: Coming of Age in Samoa (Mentor edition; New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1949); Growing Up in New Guinea (New York: Mentor, 1953); Male and Female (New York: Mentor, 1955); and And Keep Your Powder Dry, op. cit.

³Benedict, op. cit.

⁴Reported in Alex Inkeles and Daniel J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, editor (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), 977-1020.

⁵See Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 1-2.

⁶Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953).

Among studies of intracultural regularities must be mentioned the attempts by anthropologists to delineate the "national character" of each of a number of modern states. Among those for which a national character has been suggested are Japan, Germany, Russia, the United States and England.¹

Riesman sees Americans of the twentieth century as quite similar to each other in being "other-directed," as opposed to the "inner-directed" early American or the "tradition-directed" member of folk and peasant societies.² Whyte in like manner attributes similar personalities to a large segment of American society.³

While care must be taken not to oversimplify, or stereotype, or to disregard variations of individuals from the dominant, perhaps few would deny that there is sufficient evidence for concluding that there are within a culture, more especially within a tightly-knit culture, strong patterns of regularity in behaviour, personality, and values.

Thus, Florence Kluckhohn's theory suggests that intracultural regularities in the ranking patterns of value-orientations generally occur. Where there is no preferred order of preference on a particular problem, it

¹See Inkeles and Levinson (op. cit.) for a reasonably complete list of studies of national character. Geoffrey Gorer's Exploring English Character (London: Cresset Press, 1955) might also be mentioned.

²David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950). Margaret Mead's comments ("National Character and the Study of Anthropology," Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed, Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, editors. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961. 15-26) are also pertinent, as are those by Robert Gutman and Dennis H. Wrong appearing in the same volume--"David Riesman's Typology of Character," 295-315.

³William H. Whyte Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

is highly probable that the culture is in the process of change, with cleavage to the old patterns occurring in some behaviour spheres and by some groups, and cleavage to the newer patterns in other spheres or by other groups. Her findings in five cultures support this.¹

Value-orientations and culture change. From her theory, Kluckhohn formulates two hypotheses concerning culture change. First, a necessary but not a sufficient condition for culture change is where no dominant profile clearly emerges, that is, when one value-orientation is chosen for some behaviour spheres and others for other spheres, or where in the same behaviour sphere one group prefers one orientation and other groups prefer different orientations. On the other hand, the more pervasive a value-orientation is the more resistant the culture to change. Secondly, where two societies, or two ethnic or other groups exist side by side, the greater the degree of congruence between their value-orientations, particularly with respect to the Relational problem, the more smoothly will acculturation take place.²

Intracultural Value Variation

Although intracultural value variation was not specifically tested by Kluckhohn and her associates, it is an integral part of her theory. Since it is an essential concern of the present investigation, Chapter IV and Chapter V are set aside for a detailed review of the literature supporting the phenomenon of variation in value-orientations within modern American urban society. Variations by various ethnic, religious, urban-rural, age and, especially, socioeconomic groups are discussed.

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit.

²Ibid., 41-48.

CHAPTER III

PEASANT SOCIETIES: THEIR VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Evidence presented in Chapter VI of this report indicates that the culture, including the value-orientations, of the communities and other analytical units of Newfoundland society is becoming more like that of modern American urban society, and less like that of the traditional fishing village. It is suggested also that certain segments of Newfoundland society have moved farther in this direction than others, and that rates of change vary. Although there are differences, so many similarities exist between the traditional Newfoundland fishing village and Robert Redfield's construct "peasant society" that it will be fruitful in understanding traditional value-orientations in Newfoundland to consider those typical of peasant society. Before discussing peasant society it will be necessary to develop the simpler construct "folk society." After the essential characteristics of these abstractions have been noted, the value-orientations generally typical of these types of society will be suggested.

I. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FOLK SOCIETY

The abstraction "folk society" or "little community," as developed by Redfield, has four major qualities: distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, and self-sufficiency. Distinctiveness means that "where the community begins and where it ends is apparent. The distinctiveness is apparent to the outside observer and is expressed in the group consciousness of the people of the community."¹ They have feelings of group solidarity,

¹The quotations and much of the other material in this section were taken from Robert Redfield's The Little Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 3-5. The remainder, excepting chiefly the remarks

and distinctions are made between community members and outsiders. By smallness is meant that either the community itself "is the unit of personal observation or else, being somewhat larger and yet homogeneous, it provides in some part of it a unit of personal observation fully representative of the whole." Homogeneity is the quality whereby "activities and states of mind are much alike for all persons in corresponding age and sex positions; and the career of one generation repeats that of its predecessors. So understood, homogeneous is equivalent to slow changing." Such a society is homogeneous not in that everyone does the same thing at the same time but that they share the same traditions and have the same view of the good life. Specialists are few and part-time. Self-sufficiency refers to the fact that the folk society "provides for all or most of the activities and needs of the people in it. The little community is a cradle-to-the grave arrangement. A club, a clique, even a family, is sectional or segmental contrasted with the integral little community." It is self-supporting as well as self-contained. Implied in the above but nevertheless important to note is that the little community whether Neolithic settlement or medieval English village possesses the quality of isolation. It is non-literate. Folk societies of today, like those that existed before the rise of cities, are largely unaffected by the great civilizations.

Actual "little communities" vary in the extent to which they realize these characteristics, the extent to which they approach the ideal of "folk

about Newfoundland, comes from his The Primitive World and Its Transformations (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1953). For a description of the Siriono see Allen R. Holmberg's Nomads of the Long Bow, The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Pub. No. 10, 1950); for Plainville see James West's Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

society," Holmberg's Siriono, for example, being extremely close to the model. However, even the small town or rural village of the modern state--for example West's Plainville--while much further from the model, retains its characteristics to a significant degree. Many Newfoundland fishing villages as described in Chapter VI seem remarkably folklike.

Opposing "folk society" in a continuum relationship is "urban society"--indistinct, large, heterogeneous and interdependent. Sometimes this is called "civilization" meaning cities, with writing, the state, the market and a privileged class. "The point to be made," warns Redfield, "is that these relatively simple and widespread forms of organized human life constitute no closed class but shade into communities with other qualities." The important thing is not the classification of a particular society as folk or urban but in what ways and to what extent it approaches each.

II. PEASANT SOCIETY

Redfield's model, "peasant society" depicts an easily-recognizable type intermediate between folk and urban societies.¹ Quite a common occurrence both historically and today is for the small community to be linked to the town or city thereby forming one society, albeit with two clearly-distinct parts. The small community thereby loses some of its characteristics and becomes "peasant society," connected with, but still distinct from the city. Still resembling very much the usually primitive peoples of folk society it is, however, less distinct, less homogeneous, less self-

¹The substance of this section comes from Robert Redfield's Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), his previously mentioned The Primitive World and Its Transformations and his introduction to Horace Miner's St. Denis A French-Canadian Parish (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), xiii-xix.

sufficient than isolated folk society, for it is hinged very importantly with the city, economically, politically and morally. The economic tie is the market whereby the peasant may sell his surplus product or labour to the city or to the world outside his community and buy such items as metal tools or medicines. Politically he is ruled, taxed, and perhaps called upon for military service. Finally, the peasant looks up to the literati of the city, to the specialists in religion and knowledge, the guardians of the great tradition. The city in relation to peasant society is in an elite position. Merchants, tax collectors, welfare officers, priests and teachers may represent the city and reside in the village as outsiders--institutionalized strangers, as Redfield calls them. Peasants may move, although it is not customary, to the city. Eventually, if distinctions blur and the hinge becomes ever larger and all pervasive, peasant society may be transformed into just another part of urban society.

When speaking of peasant society, Redfield is referring chiefly to the villages of medieval Europe, the rural peoples of Latin America, China, India and Southeast Asia, as opposed to "folk" societies of the North American Indian tribes, the islands of the Pacific and other groups isolated from the influences of cities. He is looking at:

. . . rural people in old civilizations, those rural people who control and cultivate their land for subsistence and as part of a traditional way of life and who look to and are influenced by gentry or townspeople whose way of life is like theirs but in a more civilized form.¹

Elsewhere he has stated that "Peasantry then, whether Mexican or Chinese or Polish, is that style of life which prevailed outside the cities and yet within their influence during the long period between the urban

¹ Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture, 20.

revolution and the industrial revolution."¹

In suggesting, in his introduction to Miner's St. Denis A French-Canadian Parish, how closely St. Denis resembles the model, Redfield sets forth very clearly his conception of peasant society:

For the comparative study of societies the peasant peoples occupy a strategic position. They form a sort of middle term in the equation of culture and civilization. On the one hand, they resemble the primitive peoples with whom the ethnologist is characteristically acquainted, and on the other they belong to that modern urbanized world which lies in the foreground of attention of most American sociologists. To study the peasant peoples is to help to draw into a single field of investigation all the societies of the earth from the simplest to the most complex. . . .

The readers of Dr. Miner's excellent book will note the respects in which this French-Canadian peasant society resembles the primitive peoples. The habitants live in terms of common understandings which are rooted in tradition and which have come to form an organization. The fundamental views of life are shared by almost everyone; and these views find consistent expression in the beliefs, the institutions, the rituals, and the manners of the people. In a word they have a culture. Furthermore, the sanctions which support conduct are strongly sacred: the faith which all share provides endorsement of certain behavior and condemnation for other behavior. . . . And, also, this society, like many others more primitive and outside of the European world, is strongly familial. The fabric of society is woven of threads of consanguineous and connubial connection; the family system is strong, pervasive, and certain in its effects. The activities which an individual will perform--in work, in getting married, in finding a career, in politics--are largely determined by his position in a family. The familial organization. . . though made up of no exotic elements. . . has the definition of outline, the importance of role in the total society, and the intimacy of connection with other parts of the total social structure which we are accustomed to find in the study of aboriginal simple societies.

But to look at these habitants as another Melanesian or American Indian society would be, of course, to ignore the fact that they form a part of the modern urbanized world. The peasant participates in a money economy, produces a surplus for sale in city markets, pays taxes, sometimes goes to school, votes, and otherwise participates in a wider economic and political structure which includes not only the peasant but the townsman. The peasant makes some use of literacy, but the aborigine does not. Moreover, peasant and city man constitute one single society that is organized in terms of status. Each is aware of the

¹ Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, 53.

other; each allows a place for the other in his world of recognized social relations; each accepts the other as a member of a larger society in which both are members. It is the nature of the peasant that he accords prestige to the city man and to the sophisticated members of his own group. The peasant may, through education, enter the world of the city, while the city man has kinsmen among the peasants. In the case of St. Denis the immediate connection between the habitant and the City of Quebec is made by certain residents of the local community: the curé and his relatives, and the senator and his kinsmen.... These persons do not owe their position to anything within the immediate society. Their position is due to contacts which they have had with the world outside the parish, from which sphere they have received recognition far higher than anything the parish can give. The habitants, in turn, accord¹ them the prestige which these educated persons have won in the city.

The Fishing Village and the Peasant Society Model

Fishing villages, distinct, isolated, small, homogeneous, largely self-sufficient and self-contained, but with economic, political and intellectual-moral ties with the city would appear to meet the criteria set forth above for peasant society. Redfield himself prefers to exclude fishers, herders, and hunting peoples and to restrict the term "peasant" to a person "who is in effective control of a piece of land to which he has long been

¹Robert Redfield, "Introduction" in Horace Miner, St. Denis A French-Canadian Parish. The purpose in using the above extract was to avail of one of Redfield's best statements of his model, not to debate whether St. Denis was or was not a peasant society. However, the controversy about the rural French-Canadian's being a peasant is worth noticing. Garigue from his own research--Philip Garigue, "St. Justin: A Case Study in Rural French Canadian Social Organization," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 22 (August, 1956), 301-18; "The Social Evolution of Quebec: A Reply," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 27 (May, 1961), 257-60--contends that the French-Canadian farmer is not and never was a peasant, that farming was just another commercial activity like the fur trade or working in the city, that farms were not held in trust for future generations but bought and sold. He roundly condemns as mythical the conclusions about French-Canada by the Chicago school, notably of Redfield and Miner but also of Hughes--Everett C. Hughes, French Canada in Transition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). Guindon--Hubert Guindon, "The Social Evolution of Quebec Reconsidered," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 26 (November, 1960), 533-51--in turn, takes issue with Garigue. The whole discussion provides stimulating commentary on the usefulness of Redfield's model for the analysis of modern rural communities.

attached by ties of tradition and sentiment," a farmer whose "agriculture is a livelihood and a way of life, not a business for profit." Yet, this exclusion of the people of the type of fishing village mentioned above, particularly where economic activities of that village--fishing, gardening, pasturing, hunting, gathering--are largely for consumption rather than sale, and where the attitude towards land and property is to keep them in trust for future generations, seems largely arbitrary.¹ It would appear that such fishing villages resemble very closely Redfield's depiction of peasant society. Accordingly, it is this model with which, in Chapter VI, the society and culture of the traditional Newfoundland fishing village is compared.

III. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS OF PEASANT SOCIETIES

The value-orientations of persons in folk, peasant or urban societies largely follow from the characteristics of these societies as outlined in previous sections of this chapter. As the details are developed here it should be kept in mind that actual societies and their value-orientations differ in varying degrees from models and from each other.

The Man-Nature Problem

The common world view of the primitive, to the extent that he distinguishes man from nature, is to see the two bound together into one intimate and moral order. Many see themselves as having sprung from various parts of nature, their totems. The land, the forest, the stream, the reef, the ocean are not for exploitation, cannot be alienated, but rather preserved for future generations. Primitive peoples have a concept of immanent justice

¹Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture, 18-19.

whereby there is natural retribution for faults.¹ It is, thus, the Harmony-with-Nature value-orientation that is most common, to a lesser extent the Subject orientation, but rarely Mastery. Variations in value-orientation would tend to follow variation in religious belief and practice particularly with respect to magic (implying Mastery), and sorcery (implying a Subject orientation). Peasant society with control of relations to nature largely in the hands of full-time specialists of the city might tend towards the Subject-to-Nature orientation. However, the peasant living timelessly on the land can be expected to develop to some extent a Harmony-with-Nature orientation.² The Mastery-over-Nature orientation appears, according to Redfield, common only in the Western world.³ Some confirmation for this speculation comes from the findings of Kluckhohn and her associates, that the folk-like Zuni and Navaho chose the Harmony-with-Nature alternatives, the peasant-like Spanish-Americans the Subject-to-Nature alternatives, and the more urban Texans and Mormons the Mastery responses.⁴

The Activity Problem

Since in both primitive and peasant societies status is largely ascribed rather than achieved, although there are important exceptions, the extreme emphasis on the status-striving aspect of Doing that is so prominent in American society is largely absent.⁵ However, industry is,

¹Redfield, The Primitive World, 107.

²Geoffrey Gorer, The Americans (London: The Cresset Press, 1948), 118-19.

³Redfield, op. cit., 110.

⁴Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961), 284, 318, 174, 258.

⁵This aspect of the Doing orientation is discussed at length in Chapter IV.

among peasants, generally prized. Kluckhohn's Spanish-Americans chose the Being alternative, and, although all the others chose Doing, it was suggested that had the third alternative, Being-in-Becoming, been offered the Zuni would have chosen it.¹ Thus no very clear pattern emerges for primitive or peasant society in general.

The Time Problem

Where there is no change, there can be no sense of time, for tradition has meaning only in terms of non-tradition. The mood then in primitive and even in peasant communities is timelessness.² The presence of the city and the possibility of change from that direction would tend to make the peasant aware of tradition, of time, although perhaps vaguely. If the changes are desired, the peasant may tend to be somewhat Future-oriented, if disapproved, as change often tends to be, then Past-oriented. The future, says Redfield, is seen as a reproduction of the immediate past. "Men see their children doing on the whole what they did themselves and are satisfied to see them doing so."³ Moreover, they have a reverent disposition towards ancestral ways. Consequently, it is to be expected that the Present, especially, and to a lesser extent the Past, but rarely Future would be the value-orientation preferred by people in primitive and peasant societies. The Kluckhohn study verifies this since Zuni, Navaho and Spanish-Americans chose Present, with

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, loc. cit., and 306.

²Among many others making this point is Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1942), 30.

³Redfield, op. cit., 120.

the first two preferring Past over Future.¹

The Relational Problem

In folk and peasant societies, unlike in modern America, not individualism but the group is stressed.² This is more than merely "restraining an individual's self-striving in favor of family and community."³ It is that statuses come automatically with age and according to one's family, and are only in small measure indeed the result of striving or achievement. Thus, an individual is known largely in terms of kinship and age set, in terms of who he is rather than what he has accomplished. Of course, within the limits of ascribed status, prestige may vary with performance. Also in peasant society status can on very rare occasions be achieved, as, for example, by a bright peasant lad's becoming a priest, or a peasant's emigrating to the city. Thus an element of Individualism, albeit usually quite small, is often present.

Whether it be the Collateral or the Lineal principle that dominates a specific folk society would appear to depend upon such factors as its particular social structure, the relative power of chiefs, elders, ordinary people, and the community's wealth. The presence of age sets would indicate

¹Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, loc. cit.

²Erich Fromm (Escape From Freedom, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1941. p. 43) quotes Jacob Burckhardt's analysis of medieval society (The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921. p. 129) as suggesting that "Man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family or corporation--only through some general category" and not as an individual. Fromm goes on to suggest that individualism in Europe developed, but only in the upper and middle classes during the Reformation and the Renaissance.

³Redfield, Peasant Society, 78.

Collaterality within the set. Unlike in changing communities where the knowledge of the old tends to be obsolete and handicapping, in folk and peasant societies their experience induces a strong element of Lineality,¹ a kind of Lineality which shall be referred to throughout this report as "Intergenerational" Lineality. Children are in a subordinate relationship to adults. The aged tend to be treated with respect. Often this Intergenerational Lineality is quite strong.²

Moreover, since the peasant tends to regard those of the town, city, or manor, the literati, the keepers of the great tradition, as superior, richer, less rude than he,³ his relationship to them is that of a subordinate. Thus, generally in peasant society there is also what shall be referred to as "Inter-estate" Lineality.

Among the folk-like Zuni and Navaho, Kluckhohn and her associates found the Individualistic value-orientation to be least important, with Collaterality preferred to Lineality. For Spanish-Americans no reliable differences were found.⁴

¹S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956), 35.

²For instance, Francis A. J. Ianni--"The Italo-American Teen-Ager," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 338 (November, 1961), 70-78--suggests a major obstacle in the assimilation of Italo-Americans to have been that the peasant society of Southern Italy was organized about the patriarchal family.

³Redfield, Peasant Society, 37-44, 75.

⁴Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, loc. cit.

IV. SUMMARY

The indications from research and informed opinion are that the value-orientations of peasant society are Subject-to-Nature rather than Mastery-over-Nature, Present rather than Future. The Intergenerational and Inter-estate varieties of Lineality are preferred over Individualism. The Harmony-with-Nature, Past and Collateral alternatives are seen as second-order value-orientations. Perhaps all that can be said about the Activity problem is that the status-striving aspect of Doing is not in peasant society important.

CHAPTER IV

DOMINANT AND VARIANT VALUE-ORIENTATIONS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

This chapter deals with the value-orientations of modern American urban society, towards which the acculturation of Newfoundland seems to be proceeding.¹ As set forth in detail in Chapter VI, most of the changes taking place in Newfoundland are modernizing, that is, they are tending to make Newfoundland resemble urban America--roads, electrification, television, magazines, school texts, service clubs, local taxation, teacher-training, jobs, diversified industry, bureaucracy. Few of the new developments seek to strengthen tradition, to inculcate traditional values. As Newfoundland acquires the accouterments of America, its culture and its social structure, inevitably the tendency will be for traditional value-orientations to be supplanted. Two important questions arise: "What is Newfoundland coming to resemble?" and "Which value-orientations can be expected to become stronger in Newfoundland, and which to decline?" The present chapter, in probing into the complexities of existing and changing American value-orientations, attempts to answer these questions.

It is not an easy task to identify on the basis of existing research the dominant value-orientations in urban America. In the first place, no research has been performed specifically to determine how the average person would rank the alternatives of each of the problems suggested by Kluckhohn

¹What has been termed modern American urban society is centered in the industrial cities of the United States, although similar areas in Western Europe, Canada, and other countries are part of the complex.

as basic to all societies.¹ In fact, very little research has even made use of the framework of basic problems and value-orientations. Secondly, while many people write a great deal about values, research of an experimental or survey nature is scanty. A third factor making the identification of dominant value-orientations difficult is the factors making up dominance. Williams suggests that the extent to which a value can be considered dominant depends upon its extensiveness through the population and through the total activity of the population, its duration or persistence through time, the intensity with which it is sought or maintained as shown by effort, crucial choice, verbal affirmation, and by reactions to the threats to the value; and the prestige of the value-carriers, that is, the persons, objects, or organizations which epitomize the value.² However, there will now be presented what can be gleaned from existing research, and from informed opinion in a number of fields, academic and otherwise. Anticipating the evidence, it may be stated that while the consensus seems to be that the Mastery-over-Nature, Doing, Future and Individualistic orientations are dominant, the picture is extraordinarily complex.

The first four sections of this chapter will deal each with a basic problem, the extent to which its alternative value-orientations exist in America and tendencies towards change. Subsequent sections will examine sub-cultural variations in value-orientations, particularly variation by socio-economic levels.

¹Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1961), 10-23.

²Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (second edition; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 409.

I. THE MAN-NATURE PROBLEM

Mastery-over-Nature

Of the three ways of viewing man's relationship to nature there is little doubt, at least at first glance, that dominant in American society is that of Mastery-over-Nature.¹ Jungk, a German journalist, is both amazed and alarmed at the extent to which this theme, Mastery, pervades American life. The tremendous drive being made to produce planes that are ever faster and ever higher flying, the confident attempts to conquer outer space, the making of crops to grow in hitherto desert areas through dams and irrigation, the making of rain and attempts to control storm and wind, control of the heredity of farm animals and plants, the mastery by man of man's nature through marketing research and industrial or educational psychology, the improving on man's nature through electronic brains, and the artificial senses, limbs and organs of the space pilot, are all seen as Promethean "grasping at omnipotence." He writes:

For the Americans today are. . .fundamentally more ambitious than even their sharpest adversaries believe. Their efforts do not aspire to the mastery of continents, still less to the entire globe, but to higher things far than these. America is striving to win power over the sum total of things, complete and absolute mastery of nature in all its aspects.

This bid for power is not directed against any nation, class or race. It assails no particular way of government but the ways of Creation, which have scarcely fluctuated within the memory of man. Clouds and wind, plant and beast, the boundless heavens themselves are to be subjugated. The stake is higher than dictators' seats and presidential chairs. The stake is the throne of God. To occupy God's place, to repeat his deeds, to recreate and organize a man-made cosmos according to man-made laws of reason, foresight and efficiency: that is America's ultimate objective. Towards

¹Williams, op. cit., 421 and 469.

this her chief efforts are directed.¹

Her research in New Mexico provides evidence to support Kluckhohn's belief that the Mastery-over-Nature position is the dominant orientation of most Americans. The Mormons and Texans in her sample chose Mastery, rather than the other orientations, at statistically reliable frequencies. (The Zuni, Spanish-Americans and Navaho, who may perhaps be regarded as atypical, chose other orientations.²) In discussing the components of the Mastery orientation Kluckhohn mentions that the "belief in man-made medical care for the control of illness and the lengthening of life is strong to an extreme."³

It is perhaps easily understandable why the modern American--or anyone else in a similarly highly-industrialized society--would have this orientation. He, unlike his ancestors, very rarely finds himself in a situation where man is not obviously master.

He is rarely affected by death. As a child reared in a nuclear family, apart from grandparents and their generation, apart even from uncles and aunts, while he may perchance hear of death he will probably not experience it at close range, will not be affected by it, not during childhood. His parents will probably die when he is middle-aged, but by then he is living apart, perhaps in a different city or state, preoccupied with his own nuclear family. Since his children will outlive him and his friends tend to be transitory, perhaps the only death which really affects him is that of the spouse with whom he has been associated for some fifty years.⁴ Even

¹Robert Jungk, Tomorrow Is Already Here (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954), 17.

²Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 174-319, passim. ³Ibid., 13.

⁴In America, a geographically-mobile urban society, rather than one of "little communities," characterized by the nuclear rather than the

here, his own death may occur first. The family structure coupled with the geographic mobility of the urban individual enables him to be isolated from, not humbled by, death. Modern funerary and hospitalization procedures further isolate the individual, particularly the child, from the horrors of other people's deaths.¹ Insurance mitigates the sting. Except in rural areas where the dead are prepared at home for burial, and where the kinship system is extended and relatively permanent, awareness of the inevitability of death is, barring accidents, not brought home to the average American.

Weather forecasting has reduced the incidence of deaths due to blizzards, hurricanes, fog, so that most unforeseen calamities are seen as due to man's negligence--highway accidents, train or plane wrecks, the careless construction of dams or operation of mines--rather than to perverse, unpredictable or uncontrollable nature.

The modern American farmer with government marketing of his grain, government price supports, has, unlike his ancestors or the peasants elsewhere in the world, little to fear from the forces of nature, unless, through his own neglect he has chosen not to insure his crops or capital.² Almost to a similar extent has the fear of nature, through the use of diesel engines, ship-to-shore radio, radar, helicopters, been removed from that

extended family, the spouse, one's constant companion in most activities, becomes extremely important psychologically.

¹Lois Barclay Murphy, "Social Factors in Child Development," Readings in Social Psychology, Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, co-chairmen, editorial committee (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947), 133.

²The modern American farmer must be considered not so much a peasant as rather a major component of an otherwise dwindling group, the entrepreneurial middle class.

hitherto unpredictable and dangerous industry, fishing.

The planning of the future, so characteristic of present-day government, business organizations, individuals, and groups of individuals, assumes that prediction is possible, fate not whimsical, but rather that with appropriate action future events can be made to happen coincident with man's wishes.

Moreover, man is thought to be master over his own nature. It is possible for him to determine his own or his children's positions in the status structure. Personality, according to Gorer, is looked upon as raw material that one can use and develop for one's own ends, or that can be studied, understood and manipulated by others to buy or to sell, or trained to produce or to function until replaced by a machine.¹

To Commager, the roots of American optimism lie in America's superabundant natural resources:

Nothing in all history had ever succeeded like America, and every American knew it. Nowhere else on the globe had nature been at once so rich and so generous, and her riches were available to all who had the enterprise to take them and the good fortune to be white. As nature and experience justified optimism, the American was incurably optimistic. Collectively, he had never known defeat, grinding poverty, or oppression, and he thought these misfortunes peculiar to the Old World. Progress was not, to him, a philosophical idea but a commonplace of experience. He saw it daily in the transformation of wilderness into farm land, in the growth of villages into cities, in the steady rise of community and nation to wealth and power.

. . . He planned ambitiously and was used to seeing even his most visionary plans surpassed; he came at last to believe that nothing was beyond his power and to be impatient with any success that was less than triumph.²

¹Geoffrey Gorer, The Americans (London: The Cresset Press, 1948), 104-108.

²Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 5.

Subject-to-Nature

Despite the pervasiveness of the seemingly dominant theme in American society of Mastery-over-Nature, except perhaps in depressed areas such as the Southern United States,¹ the Subject-to-Nature orientation can be seen to be quite powerful, and in some behaviour areas, increasingly powerful.

A person, while feeling that mankind collectively can master nature--conquer disease, send people to other planets--may nevertheless feel that he, of himself, can do little, particularly now that the easily exploitable frontier is dwindling, almost non-existent, and individual entrepreneurship in industry is giving way to bureaucracy. Fromm mentions the powerlessness and insignificance of the individual on the job, in the union, as a customer, as one hopelessly aware of being manipulated by advertising and political campaigns.² Similarly, increased yearning for social security and a safe niche in a large organization, rather than security achieved by one's own efforts, betokens an increase in the Subject-to-Nature orientation, a decrease in Mastery. The ordinary "joe," queued in misfortune before outpatients' doctor, welfare worker, personnel agent, judge, or, more normally, realizing his infinitesimal influence over work decisions, union rules, or government policy, is perhaps unlikely to burst into paean over his mastery of fate and soul, particularly when he realizes that he and people like him are unlikely to be president of anything, that the cards are stacked against college education and professional employment for his children. Helpless, he

¹Max Lerner, America as a Civilization (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 192.

²Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1941), 126-34.

feels, before the forces that produce Hiroshima, as the barbarian before the tornado that destroys his house. However, there is evidence that people rarely concern themselves with bombs, tornadoes, politics or legislation--the problems of civilization as a whole. For example, of two thousand letters from teenagers who were asked to mention their problems, only one, and that parenthetically, mentioned the bomb. These people were concerned with dating, future occupation, and the "trivia" of everyday life.¹

Those who have recently or vividly experienced death or other misfortune at close range--and the likelihood can be considered greater than usual among those whose families are extended, among the lower classes, in small communities, or those who experienced the miseries of the Great Depression--can be expected to be more fatalistic, at least temporarily, in their outlook. Strodbeck points out that the relative lack of success of Italian-Americans is in part due to their Subject-to-Nature orientation, their emphasis on fate:

For the Italian, there was no real logic in striving; the best-laid plans of man might twist awry. Misfortune originated "out there," out beyond the individual. Destino decreed whether a particular event would or would not come to pass. A sort of passive alertness was thus inculcated. Although no one knew when he might be slated for a lucky break, at the same time there was no motivation for any rational undertaking₂ of heroic proportions; such an undertaking might be destined to fail.²

Lowenthal, also, notes that increasingly, according to the biographies appearing in the mass-circulation magazines, success is regarded not so much

¹H. H. Remmers and D. H. Radler, The American Teenager (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957), 39, 239.

²Fred L. Strodbeck, "Family Integration, Values, and Achievement," Education, Economy, and Society, A. H. Halsey, Jean Floud and C. Arnold Anderson, editors (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), 321.

the outcome of deliberate effort but to luck, in the case of movie stars to the good fortune of being discovered.¹

Harmony-with-Nature

The Harmony-with-Nature orientation can perhaps, despite the non-existence of empirical research, be considered inconsequential in America.

Gorer indicates as much:

[Exploitation is] the dominant American attitude towards raw material, towards things. . . . It is completely opposed to the traditional concept of peasants, for whom the land and its products are, as it were, part of themselves, of their ancestors and descendents, so that their histories and fortunes are conceived of as intertwined, so that there is at least a measure of identification between man and material. With the partial exception of the South, this complex of attitudes is completely alien to most Americans; there is no identification between man and his raw material;² man is superior and apart, imposing his will on the inhuman universe.

The Harmony-with-Nature orientation means also that life runs smoothly and misfortune is rare when a person or a society lives in accord with the forces of nature, does things in the right and proper ways, the ways of God. But, as Mead points out, Americans see a more direct route between goals and their achievement. God helps, not so much those who are good, but "those who help themselves," or, in Cromwell's words, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry."³ The emphasis is primarily on man's Mastery through goal-directed behaviour, and only secondarily on Divine help which itself man can obtain through the appropriate activity--prayer.

¹Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," Radio Research 1942-1943, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton, editors (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944), cited by Williams, op. cit., 434-35.

²Gorer, op. cit., 118-19.

³Margaret Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1942), 120-22, 161-63.

Summary

In summary, it seems that in urban America the Mastery-over-Nature orientation is the dominant one, but that for a substantial number of people, particularly concerning one's own relationship to the total world outside him, the Subject-to-Nature orientation is of some consequence. The Harmony-with-Nature orientation, except perhaps for certain enclaves, seems unimportant.

II. THE ACTIVITY PROBLEM

Of the three types of activity, it seems from the weight of opinion and evidence that in America, Doing is dominant, Being increasing in importance, Being-in-Becoming inconsequential.

The American Dream

Related to the value-orientations which form part of the American Creed¹--Mastery, Future, Doing and Individualism--is the notion that anyone in America can become successful--the American Dream. The belief is that one is essentially an individual, an entity separate, that one's status is determined, not by the category--family, occupation, class or caste--into which one happens to have been born, "that state of life into which it has pleased God to call him,"² but rather by one's efforts. One can master

¹B. Othanel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development (revised edition; New York: World Book Company, 1957), 76-82.

²Mead quotes this (op. cit., 39-41), and later makes the point (page 68) that while the English upper-class child is reared to be a gentleman, the American child is urged to become one.

one's early environment, one can through hard work and ability, education, application and self-development, rise in the status system, if not now then in the future, and if not oneself, then one's children. The converse, that one can fall back, although less frequently mentioned, is also believed. Whether this is a reaction to the system in Europe, whence Americans fled, of ascribing prestige according to birth, or whether it was a functional method of establishing prestige categories in a heterogeneous frontier society, or even whether fewer careers than formerly approximate this ideal pattern is irrelevant here. What are important are its motivational ramifications, the sharp imprint Dream and Creed have left on America. It is the striving for ever-upward mobility, characteristic of much of American society, which links the value-orientations making it difficult to discuss one without mentioning others.

Doing

As previously mentioned, the Doing orientation is defined by Florence Kluckhohn as "the kind of activity which results in accomplishments that are measurable by standards conceived to be external to the acting individual."¹

In America, although Doing may be simply working to accomplish something--clearing a field, computing sums, building houses--it generally is something more.² Often it is striving to exceed the accomplishments of other people, producing more, bigger, better or faster than others, and,

¹Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 17.

²Being idle was often regarded as sinful. Today, belief in the necessity of keeping busy is still an important part of the Doing orientation. For instance, it is widely lamented when the old must stop working at sixty-five to live "useless lives," to "vegetate." Proposals are frequently being made that the hobbies of the aged should be those that are

by excelling, increasing one's status, becoming more popular, more upward mobile in the class structure.¹ Thus the purpose of friendship, including heterosexual friendship, is sometimes not enjoyment, not Being, but Doing, that is accomplishing something, increasing one's prestige.

Work, achievement, and success. The simplest form of the American version of the Doing orientation sees success as something for which all should strive, and which can best be achieved by hard work. Traditionally in America, as Spindler suggests, a direct connection was believed to exist between status and effort:

Successful people worked hard to become so. Anyone can get to the top if he tries hard enough. So people who are not successful are lazy, or stupid, or both. People must work desperately and continuously to convince themselves of their worth.²

Williams sees achievement, particularly occupational achievement, as the central value-orientation of Americans:

American culture is marked by a central stress upon personal achievement, especially secular occupational achievement. The "success story" and the respect accorded to the self-made man are distinctly American, if anything is. Our society has been highly competitive--a society in which ascribed status in the form of fixed, hereditary social stratification has been minimized. . . .

Emphasis upon achievement must be distinguished from the broader valuation of personal excellence.... The comparatively striking feature of American culture is its tendency to identify standards³ of personal excellence with competitive occupational achievement.

constructive, physically active, and productive, rather than the inert checkers, chatting and television.

¹Erich Fromm (op. cit., 13) suggests that the "striving which today seems so natural was little present in men in medieval society" and that the obsessional craving to work developed in Northern Europe after the beginning of the sixteenth century.

²George D. Spindler, "Education in a Transforming American Culture," Education and Culture, George D. Spindler, editor (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 136.

³Williams, op. cit., 417-18.

A similar viewpoint is presented by Merton who points out the tremendous exhortational pressure from school, family, and American literature to maintain high ambition, to achieve in accordance with the ideology of the American Dream:

Thus, the culture enjoins the acceptance of three cultural axioms: first, all should strive for the same lofty goals since these are open to all; second, present seeming failure is but a way-station to ultimate success; and third, genuine failure consists only in the lessening or withdrawal of ambition.¹

Wylie contends that the vast majority of immigrants were fortune hunters whose only purpose in coming to America was to get.² Even the early British settlers, according to Lerner, "came to identify God, freedom and acquisitiveness with the image of the continent they were seeking to possess."³

Other means to success. In frontier days hard physical work for long hours cleared land for the farmer, produced profits for the shopkeeper or manufacturer. Today, the relationships underlying the Doing orientation are far more complex than those implied by the Work-Success Ethic. Strodbeck, for example, suggests that the Calvinist emphasis on hard work has been largely replaced by "rational mastery of the situation," a feeling that hard work is not enough, that one must make one's own breaks, be "available with what is needed at the right place and at the right time," and that "there

¹Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), 130-32.

²Philip Wylie, Generation of Vipers (New York: Rinehart Company, Inc., 1942), 206-207.

³Lerner, op. cit., 13.

is no legitimate excuse for failure."¹

Warner, Havighurst and Loeb similarly emphasize how, particularly in the upper-middle class, the stress seems to be on production rather than on hard work:

The men working on the "factory side" work hard but they do not produce the "right" things and so they do not² "get ahead" which is the law of life in the upper-middle class.

Today's emphasis is not so much on hard physical work as skilled work, technical and professional knowledge, the key to which is education. Schooling becomes in part a means to greater accomplishment, one of the tools, part of the capital with which a person achieves.

There are other means. Even though the manner by which success is achieved, or rather should not be achieved, is bounded by a loose ethical framework, the adulation accorded those whose success has been acquired accidentally or outside the ethical framework--certain politicians, business men, labour leaders, movie stars--suggests that achievement, rather than the means used, is the basic value.

Merton sees the high incidence of white collar crime³ as being a significant form of adaptive behaviour when the legitimate means to success demanded by the internalized ideology of the American Dream are blocked, as they tend to be for many, particularly in the lower social strata. He suggests such crime to be particularly easy in American society where there is little emphasis on the institutionalized procedures of achieving success

¹Strodtbeck, op. cit., 320.

²W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), 81.

³Edwin H. Sutherland, White Collar Crime (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).

and particularly since money, the measure of success, and the cities in which it is acquired are anonymous.¹

"Swindle," says Philip Wylie, "had apparently become the unnamed but accepted route to security."² In discussing delinquent groups, Eisenstadt notes that "their deviancy is oriented more toward the normative means of the societies than to their ends, which they seek to attain by uninstitutional means."³

Rosenberg points out a conflict between the desire for success and the undesirability of the means sometimes necessary to achieve it:

. . . hard work, thrift and initiative are viewed with approval in American society. It may not be these traits, however, but sharp dealing, manipulation and unscrupulousness which enable a man bent on the goal of success to achieve it.⁴

His data, gathered from male university students, pointed toward the conclusion that:

. . . people concerned with monetary success are more likely than others to feel that institutionally dubious means are necessary to get ahead. Relatively speaking, they feel that moral scrupulousness is a deterrent to success and that contacts and inside dealings are more important than ability.⁵

Consumption, titles, and visible success. In only comparatively simple situations such as the brawn-emphasizing farm frontier can there be a fairly direct relation between work and success, between relative accomplishment and prestige. Where there exist a diversity of occupations and

¹Merton, op. cit., 129-37.

²Wylie, op. cit., 210.

³S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), 97.

⁴Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), 94.

⁵Ibid., 103.

a great concourse of people, comparisons of achievement are more difficult, accomplishment less visible, prestige more difficult to award. The factor visibility becomes all important. The new chief gauge of success may become not production but consumption, conspicuous wealth--often, but not necessarily, related to production. The new measures become where one lives, his make of car, clothing, food, club membership, contents of living room, expenditure rather than income.¹ Other indices of visible success, also not necessarily directly related to production, have arisen--income, name of occupation, accent, manners² and , particularly, education.³ Titles and possessions rather than performance itself, rank and degree rather than the

¹Although most of Veblen's remarks--Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Mentor, 1953), especially pages 60-80--apply specifically to the nouveaux riches of the last century, his essential thesis underlies much of the present argument. To gain or to maintain status, it was, according to Veblen, important to indicate to the status-conferring group--the public generally--one's accomplishments, that is, one's wealth. Thus, one displayed ostentatiously, either through his own actions, or, more successfully, vicariously, through the activities of retainers, friends, and, especially, members of his family, that he could indeed afford to be extravagant about time and goods--conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption. The latter, being more visible in the anonymity of the highly-industrialized urban communities, generally proved more rewarding. One became a connoisseur, a lavish entertainer, a benefactor of worthy causes, to impress upon others his pecuniary strength, the basis of status.

²That prestige may not be accorded to the self-made man, the successful business tycoon, rich but unpolished, uneducated and "boorish," indicates a change from mere work-success.

³The Index of Status Characteristics developed by Warner and associates uses a composite of occupations, source of income, house type and dwelling area to measure social class. See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949).

quality of the job, indirect rather than direct external standards, not necessarily getting the job done but getting closer to the top, become the goals of Doing.

Where consumption is deliberately conspicuous, that is, directed toward the enhancement of prestige, it must be regarded, not as Being, but as a form of Doing. Such consumption need not of itself be enjoyable, but something distasteful but necessary, as for example, the case of the oft-caricatured status-seeking lady who tortures herself and her spouse with "enjoying" an evening at the opera or insisting on an expensive wedding for her daughter. Indications of a recent trend in this "Doing-by-consuming" direction come from Lowenthal's finding, from a study of biographies appearing in mass magazines from 1901 to 1941, that a shift had occurred from the "idols of production" to the "idols of consumption," from "doers" to "takers."¹

Mead expresses rather well the American stress on Doing, on achievement:

To get ahead, to make good--these are the goals which are impressed on American children--to go some place else, get on with it, count your success by the number of less handicapped that you have passed on the road. . . .How can you tell that a man is a success? Only by knowing how far he has come, how many he has passed, what he has in the way of power and possessions. What he is--as a person--is irrelevant, for to be a success is² to have done something, rather than to have been a kind of person.

The struggle for success she sees as a form of anxiety internalized in children, where mother love, acceptance by his parents, is conditioned upon a child's achievements--"that yearning for achievement which is planted in every American child's breast by his mother's conditional smile."³

Summary. In America, the land of opportunity, one's position in life was determined, so it has been believed, not by birth, but by accomplishment.

¹Lowenthal, op. cit.

²Mead, op. cit., 53.

³Ibid., 113.

Moreover, everyone should strive for status--usually referred to as success. Hard work, although perhaps rarely a goal, has been the approved means to success. Yet, other means, some formally disapproved of--selfishness, crime, manipulation--have sometimes been highly effective, particularly, but not solely, in the anonymous cities. The criteria by which one's fellows have measured one's power and wealth--the bases upon which status is awarded--have always been visible. However, with complex industrialization and urban living replacing the farm frontier, the measures of visible success have changed from the results of personal physical toil to production, to money, sometimes to consumption, and increasingly to titles in the various bureaucracies. The basic value--the securing or improving of status--apparently has not changed very much.

Being

Although difficult, it is extremely important to distinguish the consumption that is a measure of Doing, from that which implies Being: the spontaneous expression and gratification of impulse and desire. After allowing for the consumption related to Doing, there remains ample evidence that Being is an increasingly important value-orientation in America generally and not merely for those descended from non-Puritan immigrants. The "reigning moral diety in America," declares Lerner, "is fun."¹ The billions spent annually on automobiles, television, sports, concerts, and the time devoted to their enjoyment indicate a society that is apparently increasing its tendency to value play, not work, Being not Doing.² This seems other than just

¹Lerner, op. cit., 675.

²Lerner (Ibid., 848-50) speaks of the "beat of Dionysian impulse" and the "thinly-sublimated eroticism" of American jazz, swing, and rock-and-roll, particularly popular among the young.

the result of an increase in the standard of material living and the greater availability of leisure arising from technical efficiency. More leisure is demanded. Although some people use spare time to improve their ability to work by home study, schooling and making contacts, many people just spend more hours sitting watching the television or the game, absorbing "culture," or, more actively, curling, golfing, touring, cooking exotic dishes. The purpose is enjoyment, satisfaction, not production and not, primarily, even the acquisition of prestige.¹

Again, while Riesman's other-directed personality's being oriented to consumption rather than production seems interpretable partly as an increase in the consumption-prestige variety of work-success, it seems partly due to increased emphasis on the Being orientation.²

Yet, this tendency toward Being must not be exaggerated. Even in leisure, many repair their own cars, build or improve their houses, have gardens, spend many hours with government brochures and do-it-yourself kits, doing and working, not from sheer enjoyment, nor simply from economic necessity, but, seemingly, either from a sense of duty, a desire to be better off, or as some left-over habit from frontier days where continuous day-long production was essential to success. Also related is the widespread claim that it is more worthy, even if less enjoyable, to participate in sports, rather than just to observe.

¹Williams (op. cit., 433-36), while observing somewhat the same phenomena, is reluctant to interpret them as manifestations of a shift in values from achievement to hedonism.

²David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (abridged edition; New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1953).

Sometimes the two orientations are combined. A person although largely Doing-oriented may in part be Being-oriented, as, for example, the craftsman, the artist or the businessman, who appears impelled to produce. Usually, however, enjoyment or recreation will be associated with Being. Usually also the possession of a strong Being-orientation will be an impediment in the struggle for achievement, production, mobility, prestige.¹

Being-in-Becoming

The Being-in-Becoming orientation is not generally important in America. "The genus of American culture," says Williams, "is manipulative rather than contemplative."²

Contemplation is dismissed as "wool-gathering," "day-dreaming," and "impractical."³ Nehru is reported to have asked, "Is it really true that Americans have no time for reflection and do not know how to meditate?" He was apparently amazed that the "reflective personality devoted to self-realization through intellectual, aesthetic, and religious activities," was not common.⁴

The widespread and intense emphasis on schooling is largely training for Doing--occupational activity, mobility, consumption, prestige⁵--or even

¹Ralph H. Turner, "Modes of Social Ascent through Education: Sponsored and Contest Mobility," Education, Economy, and Society, op. cit., 134.

²Williams, op. cit., 469.

³Lerner, op. cit., 577.

⁴Florence Kluckhohn, "American Women and American Values," Facing the Future's Risks, Lyman Bryson, editor (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 180.

⁵Warner, Havighurst and Loeb, op. cit., 49.

Being, but rarely Being-in-Becoming. Many, perhaps all, activities engaged in at universities by staff and students alike seem largely for purposes of status and accomplishment rather than solely for the development of understanding. Similarly, it is suggested that religious activity, while sometimes engaged in for improvement of the self per se--that is, for Being-in-Becoming--may often be regarded as a seeking after status or enjoyment, now or hereafter.

Summary

From the evidence presented it seems that in America, Doing--seen chiefly as seeking to achieve power, status or prestige--has been the dominant value-orientation, although its importance may be declining. The simple work-success relationship of early America has become more complex with means other than hard work being used, and with success being defined less in terms of physical production, more in terms of titles and consumption. The Being orientation, clearly second-order, seems increasing in relative importance. Being-in-Becoming remains without significance.

III. THE TIME PROBLEM

Observers of American culture and researchers agree that the dominant time orientation is unquestionably Future. Americans are described by Mead as "always moving, always readjusting, always hoping to buy a better car and a better radio," a better house. They are "uninterested in the past, except when ancestors can be used to make points in the success game."¹

¹Mead, op. cit., 193.

To Williams, American culture is not traditionalistic but rather "it de-emphasizes the past, orients strongly to the future."¹ He calls this emphasis the "cult of progress":

Various aspects of this complex are. . . "optimism," an emphasis upon the future rather than the past or present, "boosterism," receptivity to change, faith in the perfectibility of the common man. At least in the enterprising middle classes, progress has been a prime article of faith. Our rich vocabulary of epithets ("backward," "outmoded," "old-fashioned," "stagnant," and the like) can be understood as epithets only against the unquestioning assumption that the new is the better--that "forward" is better than "backward."²

Lynes sees the American as optimistic in this "best of all possible worlds."³ Commager's nineteenth century American is similarly confident:

To the disgust of Europeans, who lived so much in the past, he lived in the future, caring little for what the day might bring but much for the dreams--and profits--of the morrow. He planned ambitiously and was used to seeing even his most visionary dreams surpassed;. . . He had little sense of the past or concern for it, was not historical minded, and relegated interest in genealogy⁴ to spinsters who could have no legitimate interest in the future.

Kluckhohn sees a high value placed upon any change that does not threaten the American value structure. Her Texans and Mormons rated Future over Present, although differences were not reliable, and both over Past at significant levels.⁵

Perhaps the factor contributing most to the development of this Future orientation was the pattern of settlement. The settlers, except for a very few largely in the seventeenth century, were not colonists carrying the past

¹Williams, op. cit., 469.

²Ibid., 431-32. This consists largely of a quotation from Lee Coleman-- "What Is An American: A Study of Alleged American Traits," Social Forces, 19 (May, 1941), 498.

³Russell Lynes, A Surfeit of Honey (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 3.

⁴Commager, op. cit., 5-6. ⁵Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 258.

intact with them but builders of a new social order. America was, according to Lerner, "built on a promise." It was the new world of which Europe had so long dreamed.¹ Peasantry, and the confines of the European class structure were past.² The decision to emigrate was in effect a renunciation of the past, a cutting of cords, a rebirth.³ Hope for a better life in the future lay in America, and, later on, in the movement westward. One had but to forget the past, and the more completely this was done, the better one's chances of success.

A second factor was the reality of success and improvement in material living. The future of the immigrant generally did turn out better than his past, second-generation Americans were even more successful than their immigrating fathers, the land of the West was, for many, more fertile than that of the East. The possibility of bettering one's lot, of social mobility, did exist.

Continual discovery of new wealth and new means of exploiting it have continued the powerful urge to look to the future. Faith in an ever more abundant future has made the American prodigal about land, forests, minerals, and, coupled with a distrust in government control, it has largely prevented, particularly until the present generation, public programs for the conservation of material resources and careful planning of their future use.⁴

But conservation has begun, the Westward Movement is largely over, and so are immigration and rags-to-riches success stories. One can detect a

¹Lerner, op. cit., 24-25.

²Warner, Havighurst and Loeb, op. cit., 46-48.

³Gorer, op. cit., 14.

⁴Commager, op. cit., 18-19.

veneration for the past--the pioneers, the founding fathers, the constitution--and a desire for security and stability. As Lerner points out, Americans, particularly conservatives, idealize many elements of the past--the free-enterprise system, no bureaucracy, weak government, classlessness--which have little basis in present reality.¹ Gorser mentions an emphasis on ancestry among certain groups in the United States, notably among the Anglo-Saxon upper classes of New England and the South.² Present and Past orientations seem increasingly important, although the increasing mastery over disease, the improvement in material standards of living will undoubtedly keep for some time the future orientation dominant.

IV. THE RELATIONAL PROBLEM

Variations in its complex and changing social structure prevent American society's being labelled, without some qualification, as dominantly Individualistic, Lineal or Collateral. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the Individualistic value-orientation is often the dominant one, although far from being so always, that in some important areas of behaviour the Lineal orientation is dominant for increasingly more people, and that Collateral relationships seem ever more characteristic.

Individualism

In early America, as today where frontier conditions prevail, the Individualistic value-orientation seems to have been clearly dominant.³

¹Lerner, op. cit., 43-44.

²Gorser, op. cit., 14.

³The samples of frontier-farming Mormons and Texans of New Mexico were found to prefer Individualism over Collaterality, and both over Lineality--Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 258.

The reasons are clear.

Protestantism under the guidance of such people as Luther and Calvin put religious responsibilities squarely on the individual, rather than sharing them with the church hierarchy. Capitalism, as analyzed by Adam Smith, made the welfare of the group vary directly with the selfish strivings of individuals. It is Fromm's contention that the rise of Individualism led to the emphasis on Doing as an attempt to regain the security of status lost thereby:

. . . freedom from the traditional bonds of medieval society, though giving the individual a new feeling of independence, at the same time made him feel alone and isolated, filled him with doubt and anxiety, and drove him into new submission and into a compulsive and irrational activity.¹

Thus, American Individualism is rooted in part in the Protestant, capitalistic European origins of many of its citizens and corresponds to a similar though less intense development there. In part it is related to the development, particularly in America, of political democracy.

However, it was the manner in which America was settled that gave great impetus to the development of Individualism, even among those who had migrated from Central and Eastern Europe where Protestantism and capitalism had had little impact. The decision to emigrate itself implied a renunciation of peasantry, hierarchy, and monarchy, and the beginnings of an Individualistic orientation ripe for development in a country where material success and status were largely a matter of individual achievement.²

Again, the American farm family, not, except chiefly for the Mormons

¹Fromm, op. cit., 103.

²Lerner, op. cit., 25.

of Utah and the Spanish-Americans of the Southwest, living in a town but isolated on its quarter section, was unique in the history of the world. This, according to Lerner, developed a self-reliance, a fierce Individualism and a hatred of bureaucracy--the latter tempered by the Great Depression and the New Deal.¹ Although some farmers are now town dwellers and isolation has been broken down by improved transportation, centralized schooling, and television, yet the pattern of independent farming persists and the emphasis on Individualism can be expected to continue, albeit abated.

Many writers have noted the emphasis on Individualism in the United States. "The Yankee tradition," avers Homans, "was one of self-reliance and independence."² In earlier New England, before the area came to be dominated by Catholics from French Canada, Ireland, Italy and Poland, the Puritan emphasis on Individualism, which produced such people as Emerson and Thoreau, had perhaps, as Gorer suggests, reached a peak.³

Some Americans--Wylie, for example--feel so strongly about Individualism that they believe it and the American economic system to be rooted in human instinct, and therefore inviolate.⁴ In a similar fashion medieval society had resisted change on the grounds that feudalism was the Divinely-created "natural" order.⁵

Williams suggests that while equality is often cited as a value important to American society, "The dominant cultural value is not an undifferentiated and indiscriminating egalitarianism, but rather a two-sided

¹Ibid., 145-47.

²George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), 342.

³Gorer, op. cit., 206-207. ⁴Wylie, op. cit., 15-18.

⁵Fromm, op. cit., 42.

emphasis upon basic social rights and upon equality of opportunity."¹

"Individualism--the most vaunted and celebrated of American attitudes--no longer exists in its classic economic form," declares Lerner, "but the individual's welfare remains for most the test of social striving."²

The Lineal Value-Orientation

Two important points appear able to be established concerning Lineality in American society. First, Intergenerational Lineality, that is, authority by one generation over a succeeding one, for example, fathers over adult or late-adolescent children, has never been of widespread significance, nor has Inter-estate Lineality, the diffused authority of one class or caste over another. Secondly, Bureaucratic Lineality while inconsequential in early America is presently both widespread already, and increasingly so.

Inter-estate Lineality. America, except to some extent in the South, did not adopt the class structure of Europe with its lords and commons, aristocrats and peasants, its estates first, second and third, where one's high or lowly status was a matter of birth. America was, at least on the surface, an open-class society where there were no formal barriers to movement up or down in the prestige hierarchy. Even though the interests of workers and management--in earlier days labour and capital--conflicted, little class consciousness developed and few workers support socialism.³

¹Williams, op. cit., 442-43.

²Lerner, op. cit., 49.

³Gorer, op. cit., 126.

However, particularly since the advent of Sputnik, great emphasis is being placed especially in school systems on the development of an "intellectual" elite, and the cultivation of the "gifted" with the academically brilliant syphoned into university, the others to trade schools. Yet, while there might seem less fear than formerly of a society stratified by occupational caste, the Inter-estate aspect of the Lineality value-orientation seems of no importance.

Intergenerational Lineality. In many parts of the world--for example, Japan, France, China--fathers and grandfathers have considerable authority over their children even when adult. The extended family rather than the nuclear family is characteristic. In most stable, relatively unchanging societies, the old, wise in the ways of the culture, are honoured, are usually better able to make decisions and are often in positions of authority. Except for certain immigrant groups--notably the Italian--and for the tendency of farm families to be somewhat patriarchal, this has not generally been the case in the United States, where the nuclear family is characteristic, and children, sometimes the very young, have as much authority as the old, or even more.¹

¹One might almost categorize American intergenerational relationships as Lineality reversed. Gorer (op. cit., 92-93) has marked the extreme emphasis on youth as the "best years of our lives," on America as a "young country," and the aged's nostalgia for their prime. There are the quasi-desperate, half-hearted attempts to preserve the American ideal of a never-aging, vigorous maturity, to disguise the passing of youthful physiognomy and form--the "rinses," the weight-lifting, the carefully-designed garments--and the oft-repeated paradox of "thinking young." Increasingly without the company of peers, his accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete by change, useless although wanting and encouraged to be useful, the old person in America tends to be lonely, frustrated, pitied, but rarely respected for being old. All the value-orientations point the other way. However, the persistence of very substantial increases in the proportion of the population which is aged may eventually effect changes in value-orientations, placing more emphasis on Past, Being and Intergenerational Lineality.

The reasons for this lack of Intergenerational Lineality are not hard to find. For one thing the immigrant had broken ties with the extended family, the old were left behind. Even more significantly, experience in another setting was of little help in the new world where essential to success were youth, strength, adaptability. The past was a poor guide for the present, the father a poor model for his son. The second-generation immigrant to be successful had generally to speak a new language, to be schooled in ways where parents and especially grandparents were of little help, to dissociate himself from the encumbrances of family. Moreover, the ever-moving frontier of new situations demanded inventiveness and self-reliance, whatever one's origins.

This is but an instance of a more general phenomenon, namely, that in a period of rapid change the past is a poor guide for the present, the older generation not the best model for the new, and Lineality very often dysfunctional to achievement. Sometimes, where the whole community emigrates and remains intact--for example, the Amish or the Hutterites--the Individualistic value-orientation may not be developed, since, except geographically, there has been no change. Thus, under certain conditions, previous value-orientations can be maintained in a new setting. Among several reasons Chance advances to account for the smooth adjustment by one Alaskan Eskimo group from hunting to working on the DEW Line, are the continued effectiveness of traditional leaders now foremen, the maintenance of respect for the old since both old and new were given equal opportunities to work, and the continuance of the old kinship system.¹ On the other hand, among

¹Norman A. Chance, "Culture Change and Integration: An Eskimo Example," The American Anthropologist, 62 (December, 1960), 1028-44.

immigrant groups in the United States where the Lineal kinship system was quite strong--notably Italians and Sicilians--some evidence exists that the Individualistic value-orientation's being less prone to emerge prevented people in these groups from achieving social mobility.¹

Not only was there a shift toward the Individualistic value-orientation with migration and a corresponding decline in what has been called Inter-generational Lineality, particularly in the family and especially where grandparents were involved, but the trend has continued. In an industrialized society characterized by job specialization the father cannot provide an occupational model for his son. Where change is rapid, as today, the parental model is in other ways inadequate. The young are not guided by the previous generation because any guidance provided would be largely misdirection. Lineality would conflict with achievement, with Doing.

To Lerner, the patriarchal farm family which had been tending to develop, has largely been replaced by the new equalitarian, nuclear family, stripped of in-laws, and with children reared by the mother in an atmosphere strongly emphasizing mutual love rather than authority:

Thus, the traditional family--large, three-generational, patriarchal, attached to the land, closely integrated in performing the collective economic functions of farm homestead or small shop or family business--has almost gone out of the picture. It is more likely to be small, two generation, mobile, whole-family centered, equalitarian. The family no longer performs to the same degree the old functions of economic production, religious cohesion, kinship continuity, educational and cultural transmission.²

¹Strodtbeck, op. cit., 321. This same tendency for strong kinship ties--Lineal or Collateral--to interfere with upward mobility in the modern state has frequently been observed in the emerging nations of Africa and elsewhere, with the claims of the extended family on the power and wealth handled by the employee or civil servant conflicting with the interests of his employer.

²Lerner, op. cit., 551.

However, he distinguishes four family types which are still largely traditional--the rural family in New England and the Midwest, the geographically static but wealthy and proud old families chiefly of New England and the South, the cohesive extended family of second or third generation Slavic, Irish, Jewish or Mediterranean immigrants who tend to form cultural enclaves, the highly mobile Negro family with absentee father, working mother and children reared by grandparents.¹

In rural areas, even in the United States, Lineality as typified by the patriarchal farm family may even now be a functional principle, but the present rural-urban migration coupled with changing farm society makes the farm father inadequate as a model. Again, while it might seem that with several generations of fairly stable living in the same city the Lineal principle would gain strength, and perhaps this is sometimes the case, the migration from one city to another, increasingly typical of American society, and even movement from one part of the city to another, would tend to decrease Intergenerational Lineality, prevent extended families from stabilizing.² The biological dependence of the young means, of course, there must always be some Intergenerational Lineality.³

¹Ibid., 551-57.

²In English cities, according to Geoffrey Gorer (Exploring English Character. London: The Cresset Press, 1955), married children tend to reside in the same neighbourhood as their parents.

³Wylie (op. cit., chapter eleven) sees the twentieth-century mother, rather than the father, as the dominant parent, not paternalism but "momism." The realm of values and ethics is, according to Gorer (The Americans, 34-49) largely in the custody of women. He sees the father's role in child-rearing as always having been vestigial. While immigration stripped authority from the father, that of the mother in her sphere, the home, remained. Moreover, school teachers, particularly in the elementary grades, are women, and their influence, stemming greatly from their responsibility for inducting immigrant children into American ways, has continued. Today, her children reared, the

Tracing its development from the nineteenth-century immigrant's rejection of homeland, the second generation's rejection of the first, and in part from the earlier revolt against George III, Gorer sees rejection of authority as the most distinguishing and all-pervasive feature of American character. Father, once ignorant and alien, is still old-fashioned and ridiculous, and is so portrayed in the comics. The army sergeant is detested, the school teacher without prestige, the clergyman's influence restricted to religion, the umpire unpopular. Americans, he says, reject all forms of authority and view the subordination of one human being to another as "coercive, arbitrary, despotic, and morally wrong." One must ever be on guard against the encroachment of government, of "they" on the rights of the individual.¹ Politics is not generally a reputable career, marginal law-breaking such as book-making, bootlegging and graft is widespread and largely condoned, violence common, and lawbreakers often lionized as such. Awe is reprehensible whether expressed toward Pope, Japanese Emperor, Stalin or Roosevelt. Persons in positions of authority must cultivate the role of "conspicuously plain citizen," and be addressed by their first names by subordinates.²

middle-aged mother, as clubwoman, exerts her moral influence on government, religion, patterns of consumption, and the school. To Gorer, the American conscience is the "encapsulated mother." Only business continues masculine and predatory. As a further blow to paternal Lineality, Lynes (op. cit., chapter four) sees modern American males--particularly young married men with children and working spouses--as forming under their wives, a new servant class.

¹John Gunther (Inside U.S.A.. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947. 148) sees the West as "the region par excellence of Jeffersonians in the literal sense," that is, haters of too much government.

²Gorer, The Americans, op. cit., chapter one.

However, Gorser's remarks about Americans rejecting all authority are today largely obsolete. Americans may often reject personal authority but not authority itself, for, as the following section will show, an increasingly distinctive feature of American life--and, apparently, one increasingly acceptable, despite the protests of some intellectuals and conservatives--is bureaucracy.

Bureaucratic Lineality. Although there are even today a few jobs which are sometimes somewhat independent--doctor, barber, lawyer--and although a distinguishing characteristic of American religion is its multiplicity of sects, what increasingly characterizes occupational life and the modern state generally is large scale organization--big business, big unions, big schools and, especially, big government.

That nearly every young American male and many women experience at least several years in the totalitarian society of the armed service with its "iron hierarchy of rank, obedience and deference" may, Lerner fears, "habituate future generations to a new kind of subservience hitherto unknown in American life," and produce "in the long run a deadening effect upon a sense of initiative and the resistance to authority."¹ The modern American may indeed be rather independent of parents, clergy, and older citizens generally, but a new kind of Lineality--the hierarchy of the bureaucracy--is tending to dominate not only work, but health, welfare, sport, academic thought. People, including the farmer, hitherto considered the epitome of Individualism, look to the welfare state lineally, as infant to parent, for sustenance, risk-taking, guidance, decisions. There is an

¹Lerner, op. cit., 484-85.

important difference. While Intergenerational Lineality covers a diffuse range of activities, each bureaucracy, apart from the government, is concerned with one or at most a few specific behaviour areas. Yet bureaucracies, government or otherwise, particularly since the Great Depression, increasingly absorb areas hitherto left to the individual.

Empathy has tended to prevent acceptance of the fact of Bureaucratic Lineality. Every empathetic person thinks he can run the country better than the president, the school system better than the superintendent, the union better than the leader, the newspaper better than the editor, the football team better than the coach. The reality of the new Lineality seems as yet unrealized. America has given control to bureaucracy but either is unaware of it or refuses to admit it. Should it be realized and accepted as inevitable, the next step, perhaps, would be a decline in empathy and with that an increase in the value placed on Lineality.¹

Besides discussing by whom decisions are made--that is, whether they are made Lineally, Collaterally, or Individualistically--an overall inquiry into how decisions are made must also examine who determines which data are relevant to a decision. In this connection, it is clear that bureaucracies rationalize, that is, every client--patient, pupil, customer, taxpayer, job applicant--is processed in accordance with standardized routines--or subjects, sizes, classifications, categories. Increasingly too, the data collected are limited to the number of variables that can be placed on an IBM card so that

¹The reverse process, by which the acquisition of empathy by people in hitherto-traditional societies leads to the emergence of the Individualistic value-orientation, is discussed by Daniel Lerner (The Passing of Traditional Society. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958).

decreasing emphasis tends to be placed on idiosyncrasies, on each human individual as something unique to be uniquely healed, taught, served, taxed or employed. What is taken into account is determined not by impulses flowing freely from the client, nor even by the interviewer, but by pre-determined stimuli to each of which the client or research subject may make one of a maximum of twelve replies. Thus, there is increasing emphasis on the Lineality of the bureaucracy-client relationship rather than on the Individualistic value-orientation. Again, helplessness and awe--the Subject rather than the Mastery orientation--would appear to characterize the feeling a client has before the diety of the assembly line with its limited rationalization, a feeling enormously increased, one may suspect, by the recent addition to the machine of a kind of superhuman intelligence--the computer.¹ To be Individualistic in a bureaucratic world would appear to be a freak from an earlier era in the evolution of man.

The Collateral Value-Orientation

The Collateral principle seems quite widespread and instances of it are detectable in what at first glance may seem Individualistic or Lineal relationships.

Just as the vertical lines on an organization chart indicate Lineality within the bureaucracy so its horizontal lines suggest the possibility of Collaterality. Stouffer found that, even in a wartime army, soldiers fought and worked through loyalty to comrades and equals, through

¹Jacques Barzun (God's Country and Mine. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954, especially chapters three and fourteen), among many others, has noticed and denounced this phenomenon. He points out, for example, that women's shoes are no longer made in size three. The present purpose is not, of course, to evaluate this trend, but rather to gauge the effect on value-orientations.

teamwork, rather than through dependence upon authority figures.¹ In the Hawthorne series of experiments, particularly those of the "bank-wiring room," the working group acted, not in accord with the formal goals of the organization as specified by management, but according to its own social norms. From this, Brown suggests the importance of managers realizing that "the informal working group is the main source of social control."²

Yet the relationships existing even at the informal level of the work group are not exclusively Collateral. Leaders emerge, and with leadership Lineality. The total behaviour of any group, be it the peer society exemplified by the informal work group or by the adolescent school clique, the extended family or a bureaucracy, is a composite of decisions and activity performed, some Individualistically, others Lineally and the rest Collaterally. It is suggested that differential status, independence, and cooperation are present, albeit in varying proportions, in every human group. The exact proportion and nature of each would vary from group to group, from time to time. Even a dyad formally subordinate-superordinate may have adopted the Collateral practice of never acting unless both agree, or he who is formally subordinate may actually always act independently of the other, or always do exactly as the superordinate suggests. Alternatively, and perhaps more frequently, decisions underlying the activity of the "subordinate" may be now Collateral, yesterday Individualistic, and sometimes

¹Samuel A. Stouffer et al., The American Soldier, Volumes I and II (Princeton, N.J.: 1949), referred to by Williams, op. cit., 441.

²James A. C. Brown, The Social Psychology of Industry (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1954), 127 and 69-96.

Lineal. What pertains in any group should not be assumed but studied. Even after stating this important caveat, it can be suggested that there is an element of Collaterality, and of Individuality even in bureaucratic organizations.

Miller and Swanson suggest that today's nuclear family operates on the colleague or Collateral principle.¹ Family activities are the result of mutual agreement rather than Lineally determined solely by parents, or, as in the era of the Individualistic family, by each member separately. Today's child is trained for bureaucratic living, to be affable, unthreatening and adaptive rather than merely obedient or self-reliant.

In families where parental approval is conditional upon the child's outstripping his siblings and friends, (and, unlike Miller and Swanson, Mead suggests such families to be typical) the Individualistic rather than the Collateral orientation would be encouraged.² Williams sees today's family as Collateral with non-Lineal relationships existing between husband and wife, parent and child, and even between sibling and sibling.³

A similar development is noted by Williams as existing in the school. The trend is towards joint planning by teacher and pupils as members of a team, with the superordinate position of the teacher not stressed. Nor does the pupil pursue his own interests independently and competitively.⁴ A decade or so earlier, Warner and his associates had made plain their belief that the schools tended to stress Individualism, and had expressed the hope

¹Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958).

²Mead, op. cit., 113ff.

³Williams, op. cit., 441.

⁴Ibid.

that when teachers were selected greater emphasis would be placed upon "friendliness, cooperativeness, tolerance."¹

Emerging Collaterality rather than Lineality is implied in Riesman's "other-directed personality"² and in Whyte's "organization man,"³ although both deplore the decrease in Individualism. Similarly, in interpersonal relations generally, Williams sees the horizontal relationship Collaterality increasingly dominant:

In interpersonal relations, the weight of the value system is on the side of the "horizontal" rather than "vertical" emphasis: peer relations, not⁴ superordinate-subordinate relations, equality rather than hierarchy.

An important form of Collaterality in America, particularly in towns and suburbs and especially for groups other than the lower-lower class, is the many voluntary associations to which most people belong. In part, these substitute for the face-to-face relations of the small community, the security of the extended family, so that people join not so much to improve their status, as to acquire one. The chief emphasis--church groups or otherwise--seems to be on friendship and enjoyment, Being rather than Doing, Collaterality rather than Lineality or Individualism.

Freedom, Democracy, and the Individualistic Value-Orientation

The more affective term "freedom of the individual" is sometimes used by those who defend Individualism--a survival from the pre-bureaucracy era of the frontier, a survival perhaps no longer functional--against the Lineality

¹Warner, Havighurst and Loeb, op. cit., 172. ²Riesman, op. cit.

³William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957).

⁴Williams, op. cit., 470.

and Collaterality seemingly demanded by large scale organization. But the essence of freedom is missed by those who, like Mead, identify it with Individualism.¹ Freedom is rather the condition which pertains when there is congruence between the behaviour patterns desired by the individual or group and those prescribed by the larger group--family, church, civil service, society. One is aware, not of freedom but of incongruence, or lack of freedom. Incongruence can become freedom either by a change in society's norms or, perhaps more easily, by a change in the individual's desires and behaviour. Thus Fromm states: "In order that any society may function well, its members must acquire the kind of character which makes them want to act in the way they have to act as members of the society or of a special class within it."² Where society is changing rapidly or where a person reared in one society or group moves to another, the habits, including the values previously learned by him, become incongruent and the cry goes up for freedom.

Similarly, where Americans speak often and approvingly of democracy, they use it largely as a symbol of approval, or, as Gorer suggests, a synonym for Americanism, at most "political forms after the American fashion," with American friendliness towards another country varying directly with the extent to which it has succeeded in being accepted as "democratic."³

Thus, freedom, as it has been defined here, is not necessarily related to Individualism; neither is democracy as, according to Gorer, Americans use the term. Before accepting the American oratory about freedom

¹ Mead, op. cit., 192.

² Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," The American Sociological Review, 9 (August, 1944), 382.

³ Gorer, op. cit., 173.

and democracy as evidence of the existence of Individualism in America, or anywhere else, research would appear necessary.

Summary

Individualism, seemingly dominant in the earlier American frontier society appears declining although still important and perhaps the first-order value-orientation of most Americans. While Inter-estate and Inter-generational Lineality seem never to have been widely strong in America, the growth of bureaucracy is seen to be evoking a powerful emerging Lineality--Bureaucratic Lineality. Collaterality seems also to be increasing.

V. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

That various segments of American society hold value-orientations in patterns differing from the dominant and from each other complicates the picture presented in the previous sections of this chapter. Variables underlying differences include age, sex, religion, ethnicity, urban or rural residence, and attributes coming under the general category social class.¹ In Chapter V the value-orientations peculiarly teenage will be discussed. The remaining sections of the present chapter will review the insights provided

¹Allison Davis (Social Class Influences upon Learning. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 3) suggests that important differences in value-orientations exist among various social classes: "It is granted, of course, that all inhabitants of the United States learn certain behaviors in common. There are relatively few such common American cultural traits, however, in comparison with the great variety of cultural acts, beliefs, and values which have been differentiated by the various social strata in the United States." A similar point of view is expressed by Jurgen Ruesch ("Social Technique, Social Status, and Social Change in Illness," Personality in Nature, Society and Culture. Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry A. Murray and David M. Schneider, editors. Second edition; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, p. 132).

by the literature into the value-orientations of middle, lower and upper classes.

Middle-Class Typically-American Value-Orientations

A number of writers, including Ruesch, see the middle class, including its values, as being typically American:

The American culture. . . can be described as that culture which is represented by the lower-middle class. . . . Public opinion is largely an expression of this core culture. We find it in novels, on the radio, in newspapers, public speeches and in the opinions of the man on the street.

In agreeing, Davis indicates the emphasis placed by the middle class on what in the present study has been termed the Future, Doing and Mastery value-orientations:

Almost all good things in American life, as we in education evaluate it, are the achievement of the middle-status persons: care of and pride in property, careful child-training with emphasis upon renunciation and sacrifice for future gains, long and arduous education, development of complex and demanding skills, working and learning one's way up in the complicated² processes of business, industry, government and education. . . .

Florence Kluckhohn states that it is the middle class in which adherence to the dominant Doing, Future, Mastery and Individualistic value-orientations is most marked.³ Davis in stressing middle-class emphasis upon ambition, achievement, postponed gratification and individual responsibility, is in substantial agreement:

This cultural emphasis upon achievement arises largely from social insecurity: in lower-middle class groups it arises largely from the fear of loss of occupation or respectability, which would plunge the family into lower-class life. . . . The middle-class way, then, . . . is

¹Ruesch, op. cit., 133.

²Allison Davis, Psychology of the Child in the Middle Class (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1960), 46.

³Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 27.

carried on by people who are culturally motivated to work and to renounce or postpone gratifications in order to achieve. . . .

In order to understand the prestige motivation of individuals of middle status, one must remember the severe social and biological punishments associated with low status. The anxiety which middle-status people learn is effective, first, because it involves the threat of loss of present status, and, secondly, because it leads, as the individual may plainly see in "successful" persons, to the rewards of power, of social prestige, and of security for one's children.

Ginsberg reports, from his study of the process by which occupational choices are made, how upper-middle class children are subjected to increasing pressure from parents and teachers to learn to work and to discipline themselves against incessant play in order to amount to something when they grow up.²

Findings by Havighurst and Taba that the upper-middle class instill in their children self-reliance, initiative, good manners and responsibility to the community, suggest the emphasis placed by this stratum on the Individualistic, Mastery and Doing value-orientations. Their findings that the lower-middle and upper-lower classes alike stress thrift, responsibility to family and church, fidelity in marriage suggest orientations similar to those of the upper-middle class but confined to the narrower sphere of the family and the church.³

These studies, although none but Kluckhohn's specifically examined value-orientations, seem to agree that dominant in the middle class are

¹Allison Davis, Psychology of the Child in the Middle Class, 47-50. See also his "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," Adolescence: Forty-Third Yearbook Part I (Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, 1944), chapter eleven.

²Eli Ginsberg et al., Occupational Choice An Approach to a General Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), 64.

³Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949), 32.

Mastery, Doing, Future and Individualism, the identical orientations suggested in previous sections as dominant in American society generally.

Value-Orientations and Social-Class Differences in Child Training

In the present sub-section there will be reviewed three studies dealing with differences among social classes with respect to child-training techniques. While the studies related differences in techniques to implied differences in values, the value-orientations framework itself was not used. However, since the implied values so closely approximate some of the value-orientations of the present investigation, the three studies are considered highly relevant. What is especially significant is that the third study, having synthesized the conflicting conclusions of the first two, provides evidence that people employed in bureaucracies, especially middle-class people, reveal, in training their children differently, different value-orientations from those of people not so employed.

The Davis-Havighurst Chicago study. In a much discussed and therefore important study of social class differences in child-raising procedures in Chicago, 1943, Davis and Havighurst concluded that, unlike the more permissive lower classes, middle-class people tended "to train their children early for achievement and responsibility."¹ They had found that in food training, middle-class mothers were, at statistically reliable levels, more often less permissive. Fewer of their infants were fed at will, weaning

¹Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing," American Sociological Review, 11 (December, 1946), 698-710. See also Martha C. Ericson, "Child-Rearing and Social Status," American Journal of Sociology, 53 (November, 1946), 190-92.

took place earlier, fewer were breast-fed or had pacifiers. Similarly, middle-class mothers began the bowel and bladder training of their infants earlier, although lower-class mothers were more severe in punishing. As further evidence for middle-class training for responsibility, their children were allowed to venture downtown alone earlier, but had to be in earlier at night and were older before being allowed to movies alone. Moreover, middle-class children at earlier ages were expected to help with cooking, sewing and the younger children, although at later ages to get an after-school job or to quit school for work. Again, while the middle-class father played less often with his children he taught them and read to them more. Reference will later be made to the finding that thumb-sucking and masturbation were more often reported of their children by middle-class than by lower-class mothers.¹

Training their children early for responsibility and achievement points to the existence in the middle class of Doing and Future value-orientations, while permissiveness in the lower class appears related more to Being and Present orientations. It is important in establishing social class differences in value-orientations to assess this study, particularly the extent to which its findings can be generalized beyond the Chicago sample. Immediately, problems are encountered.

The Maccoby-Gibbs Harvard study. A 1951-52 Harvard study in the Boston area come to conclusions opposite those of Chicago, namely, that it was the middle classes, not the lower, who were more permissive. In food-training, although middle-class mothers completed weaning earlier, there were tendencies, not significant statistically, observed for more middle-

¹Davis and Havighurst, loc. cit.

class mothers to breast-feed, to begin weaning later although to be more rigid about feeding schedules. The Harvard study, like that in Chicago, found that in the middle class mothers reported themselves less severe about toilet training and, unlike in the Chicago study, there were tendencies, not statistically significant, for bowel training to be begun and completed later. Middle-class mothers were more permissive in that they reported themselves to exert less pressure about modesty, masturbation, and sex play with other children. The Boston middle-class mothers were also more permissive with respect to their children's aggression towards other children and towards parents, more permissive about table manners, care of furniture, neatness, noise, and doing well in school, although their educational expectations were for college education as opposed to lower-class expectations of high school completion. Middle-class discipline involved less physical punishment, ridicule, and deprivation of privilege, but more reasoning and praise, and more scolding that involved withdrawal of love. Middle-class mothers more often used baby-sitters, were more demonstrative about affection, less hostile to having the child.¹

Thus, it appears from the second study that it is the middle-class child rather than the lower-class child who is being trained towards Being and Present orientations and the latter more towards Doing and Future orientations.

In attempting to account for the apparent contradictions in the conclusions drawn from these two studies, one might mention that since

¹Eleanor E. Maccoby, Patricia K. Gibbs, and the Staff of the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, "Methods of Child-Rearing in Two Social Classes," Readings in Child Development, William E. Martin and Celia Burns Stendler, editors (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), 380-96.

there were few questions common to both studies, comparison is most difficult. Where data appear directly comparable, the findings themselves do not differ. For no item was there statistical significance in one direction for Chicago and in the opposite direction for Boston. Differences are either in the same direction or, if tending to opposing directions, not statistically reliable.¹

Yet the question in large part remains, the question of accounting for the fact that the data from the two studies seem to point clearly to opposing conclusions. Havighurst and Davis suggest several possibilities including non-comparability of samples, and the unsuitability of the interview as opposed to participant observation for gathering such data.² A most intriguing possibility is raised by Miller and Swanson, which perhaps accounts for part of the discrepancy, namely that the Boston sample might have represented a different type of middle class from that of Chicago.³

The Miller-Swanson Detroit study. Preparatory to a study of child-rearing practices in Detroit in 1953, Miller and Swanson distinguished between two types of middle class in American society--the "individuated-entrepreneurial" and the "welfare-bureaucratic." The former--or older and traditional American middle class--tended as owners of small business establishments or the white-collar employees therein, to be highly susceptible to market fluctuations and to be involved in entrepreneurship and risk-taking. Moreover,

¹Robert J. Havighurst and Allison Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," American Sociological Review, 20 (August, 1955), 438-42.

²Ibid.

³Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), 139-41.

they were, and are, individuated, that is, isolated because of immigration, vertical mobility, or movement from country to city, cut off from kinfolk and without a network of friendship ties, competing against other people. In training their children to be successful they inculcate controlled, rational behaviour, a problem-solving attitude, responsibility, concern for one's own welfare, and control over impulses or self-denial. Thus, mothers feed on schedule, commence toilet-training early, punish when calm, prevent auto-eroticism.¹ In the language of value-orientations, the emphasis is on Mastery, Doing, Future, Individualism, not on passivity or the Subject-to-Nature, Being, Present, Collateral or Lineal orientations.

Miller and Swanson see the newer or bureaucratic middle classes as having come with the increased domination of occupational life by large-scale organizations, with their bureaucratic features of size and specialized personnel, with their welfare features of pensions, sick leave and insurance. These last features have, together with government welfare, decreased insecurity especially for the employees of bureaucracies. Bureaucratic organizations require dependable, steady, conscientious performance. The unusual drive, energy and ambition of an entrepreneur are dysfunctional in that they are potentially disruptive forces in the bureaucracy. Again, despite the insistence of early theoreticians on the need for impersonality in the bureaucracy, evidence has accumulated from studies of educational, military and industrial large-scale organizations of the importance to productivity of group cohesion, worker satisfaction with the job, and congenial primary-group relations.

¹Miller and Swanson, op. cit., 32-42. See also C. Wright Mills, White Collar (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).

The parent must take all these things into account when training the child to live in a bureaucratized society.

In the more relaxed and secure atmosphere of a society whose tone is set importantly by welfare bureaucracy, the child, like the adult, is free to enjoy the present, to express his feelings. Not only is he free, but the confident, smooth social relations of the great organizations of which he must become a part will require him to get along well with other people and to take their feelings as well as his own into account with skill and confidence.

This child will need to be taught that superiors are not hateful figures to be challenged, but men of skill and feeling, whom he should emulate, and with whom he can cooperate.

. . . Teaching the child self-confidence and self-denial at a very early age through such devices as bowel training in the first six months of life, or requiring him to give up breast or bottle at such an age, or refusing to pay him attention when he cries "just to get attention" not only is made unnecessary by the lesser demands of bureaucratic life but may actually disturb the baby's confidence in people. . . .

The bureaucratization of adult experiences does not lead to a lack of discipline in training children. . . . It means that discipline takes "external" forms such as spanking rather than "internal" forms such as appeals to conscience, and that more passivity and dependence are tolerated and, on occasion, encouraged than would have been true under individuated conditions.¹

In Riesman's words, the bureaucratic individual tends not to be "inner-directed" by a conscience built in early childhood with felt responsibility for his own deeds and misdeeds, but "other-directed."² His behaviour is "guided and supervised through daily contact with others."³ Thus rather than pursue through obstacles strong desires of his own, which he lacks, the bureaucratic individual continually adapts his behaviour to the expectations of others.

¹ Ibid., 55. Similarly, Benjamin M. Spock (The Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1954), the popular authority on child-care, recommends warm, supportive training.

² Riesman, op. cit.

³ Miller and Swanson, op. cit., 56.

Miller and Swanson's research project was designed to see whether the bureaucratic middle class used child-training practices different, in the hypothesized directions, from those of the entrepreneurial middle class. Although they did not use the value-orientations framework, their research may in effect be considered as testing whether the bureaucratic middle class used child-training practices which could be considered training more for Being, Present, Lineal and Collateral value-orientations than those used by the entrepreneurial middle class, and whether the latter's techniques placed a greater emphasis on the Doing, Future and Individualistic orientations.

A short interview schedule was administered to 582 Detroit mothers each with a child under nineteen. They were chosen by random area-sampling methods using census blocks. Entrepreneurial families were defined as those where the husband was either (a) self employed, (b) gained at least half his income in the form of profits, fees and commissions, or (c) worked in an organization having no more than two levels of supervision. Also considered entrepreneurial were families where either husband or wife was (d) born on a farm or (e) born outside the United States. All other families were operationally defined as welfare-bureaucratic. That is, both parents were born in the United States in towns and cities, the husband worked for someone else in an organization with three or more supervisory levels, his income was primarily in the form of salaries or wages and he was not taking entrepreneurial risks. Further, the 582 families were divided on the basis of husband's occupation into four socio-economic groups--middle and lower classes, each with an upper and lower section.¹

¹Ibid., 63-69.

Among the findings of the study were that entrepreneurial middle-class mothers were more likely than their bureaucratic counterparts to feed babies on schedule, to begin urinary training before the child was eleven months old, to use symbolic rather than direct punishment, and to be less likely to give attention to the baby's crying when "nothing is wrong with him." They were more often inclined to leave the child with a competent woman, and to agree that the child should be on his own as soon as possible. These findings enabled the researchers to conclude that the entrepreneurial mothers were the more likely to encourage self-control and independence; they imply also a greater stress on "inner-direction," Individualism, and the Future orientation. Other findings led to the conclusion that entrepreneurial mothers were more prone to emphasize an "active, manipulative approach to life," and suggested these mothers were less tolerant of Being. For example, entrepreneurial mothers were more likely to use harsh means to stop the child who sucked his body, or touched his genitals, and more likely to deny that he did this.¹

When answers from lower-class entrepreneurial mothers were compared with those from lower-class bureaucratic mothers, there were tendencies, none statistically reliable, for the latter to be less stringent in rearing

¹Ibid., 97-118. One can accept from this evidence that the different child-rearing climates, as exemplified in differences in toilet-training, in parental attitudes towards autoeroticism, etc., lead to different value-orientations in the entrepreneurial as opposed to the bureaucratic middle-class, without attributing these class differences in value-orientations solely or even significantly to differences in the behaviour areas mentioned.

their children, and thus to appear more like the new middle classes. There were also tendencies for the lower entrepreneurial classes to give less emphasis than their middle-class counterparts to training their children in self-control.¹ These last tendencies were interpreted as a realistic adjustment to the predicament of the blue collar worker, who, because he lacks the education and contacts necessary to make the world a secure place, has no reason to practice self-denial or to take an active and manipulative approach to the insurmountable barriers provided by his environment.² Thus, the entrepreneurial middle class, as opposed to the lower class or the bureaucratic middle class, appears to epitomize the value-orientations of the American frontier--Doing, Future, Individualism and Mastery--while the other groups place less emphasis on these but more on Being, Present, Collateral, Lineal and perhaps Subject-to-Nature orientations.³ These other groups tend to be closer than the entrepreneurial middle class to the value-orientations of the small community, although with little of the latter's emphasis on Subject-to-Nature and perhaps none of its Past and Harmony-with-Nature orientations.

¹Since scrutiny of the sample used by Davis and Havighurst revealed that their middle class was apparently entrepreneurial, this finding supports their conclusion, but only within the entrepreneurial setting, that "middle-class mothers are more likely than those of lower-class status to emphasize self-control in the teaching of their children." The greater permissiveness of the Boston middle class is suggested as possibly being due, as scrutiny of the sample suggests, to their being rather more bureaucratic than entrepreneurial. See Miller and Swanson, op. cit., 128-44.

²Ibid., 116-23.

³These observations do not suggest that there are in bureaucracies no ambitious men with value-orientations largely entrepreneurial who seek through education and the manipulation of events and people to advance very rapidly. The suggestion is that most bureaucratic employees are otherwise.

There have been other indications of a relaxed attitude towards success on the part of the American middle class.¹ Both Lynes² and Riesman,³ for example, report how studies have found college students to desire not wealth or fame at the risk of ulcers, but security, a comfortable income, a rounded family and social life.⁴ They stressed being friendly and affable, rather than selfish and Individualistic. The Detroit study has supplied further evidence that with increasingly larger proportions of people being employed in bureaucracies rather than in small enterprises, an emphasis on Lineality or Collaterality rather than Individualism can be expected, together with concern for comfort and security, rather than hard work and self-denial, for increased stress on Being, less on Doing.

Protestant-Catholic differences in child-rearing. Miller and Swanson found differences also between Protestants and Roman Catholics with respect to child-rearing. When holding social class and entrepreneurial or bureaucratic integration constant, they found statistically significant tendencies for Roman Catholics to be more likely than Protestants to use external rather than symbolic punishment in controlling their children, and less likely to emphasize the early assumption by the child of such responsibilities as

¹Data from an earlier study, when re-analyzed by Miller and Swanson (op. cit.) in the entrepreneurial-bureaucratic framework, bore strong resemblances to the study under review.

²Lynes, op. cit., 106-20.

³David Riesman, "New Standards for Old: From Conspicuous Consumption to Conspicuous Production." Selected Essays from Individualism Reconsidered (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1954), 148-63.

⁴See also Max Lerner, op. cit., 494-95.

dressing himself and picking up his clothes. Such differences had been predicted from differences in moral views between the two groups, with Protestants generally holding the doctrine that grace comes directly from God to man, Catholics that it comes via the Church.¹ Thus there is a slight indication that the former place less stress on Lineality than the latter, but more on Individualism.

Summary

The middle class, in epitomizing the dominant value-orientations of the larger American society, appears like it to be less Individualistic, Future, Mastery and Doing-oriented than formerly, and more Lineally, Present, Subject and Being-oriented. From the evidence, including that of child-rearing techniques, these trends appear particularly strong among those of the urban middle class who work on salary, with little risk, in large-scale organizations, whereas the dwindling entrepreneurial middle class--self-employed, farm born, commission-earning, or employed in small organizations--tend to adhere more closely to the earlier value-orientations.

VI. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS OF THE LOWER CLASSES

That the value-orientations framework has not yet been used with lower prestige groups in the United States complicates the task of reporting their positions. Even more problematic is the existence of lower classes rather than a single uniform low prestige group--what Florence Kluckhohn calls "a collection of people so heterogeneous and diffuse that they should be called classes."² Mead even suggests that they are an unpredictable

¹Miller and Swanson, op. cit., 164-66.

²Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 27.

conglomerate the only common characteristic of which is a negative answer to the question, "Is anyone lower than he?"¹ However, since there is available a considerable literature on the lower classes, particularly as to how they relate to the schools, some statement can perhaps be made as to the value-orientations they can be expected to hold. The lower classes referred to here range from semiskilled and factory workers to the irregularly-employed slum-dwelling illiterates at the bottom of the socio-economic scale.²

First, in this section, the literature will be used to identify the value-orientations of the lower classes. Next, there will be suggested how, through personal experiences and reference group pressures, these value-orientations come to be part of the world view of the lower-class child.

The Identity of Lower-Class Value-Orientations

From an eleven-hundred person sample representative of adult white American males, Centers found that the self-identified members of the working class more often than those of the middle class considered luck, opportunity and pull as contributing to success, but ability less often. Similarly, the working class felt less often than the middle class that their children had a chance as good as or better than anybody else's of rising in the world, and more often a poorer chance. Moreover, in choosing jobs, those identifying with the working class, more often than those identifying with

¹Mead, op. cit., 61. On the other hand, other writers have noted the emergence of what seems to be a stable lower-lower class. See, for example, David J. Bordua, "Delinquent Sub-Cultures: Sociological Interpretations of Gang Delinquency," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 338 (November, 1961), 119-36.

²Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1953), 205-15.

the middle class, chose one with security.¹ The first finding indicates the greater tendencies of the self-identified working classes to hold the Subject-to-Nature orientation rather than that of Mastery, the second that these working classes are more concerned with Being and the Present than Doing and the Future. An aura of Lineality rather than Individualism can also be detected.

The atmosphere in which lower-class children are reared is one, not, according to Davis, of gratification deferred to increase future status, but rather of present concern for the necessities of life--food, heat, housing, clothing.² Present and Being, with permissive indulgence including sexual gratification, tend to be emphasized.³ Warner, Havighurst and Loeb also seem to suggest Being and Present orientations in considering that the lower classes engage in activities that "contribute to the satisfaction of the individual in his present social position" and in this respect to be more like the upper class than the middle. They even suggest for lower-class children upper-class teachers who will be more tolerant than middle-class teachers about non-striving.⁴

¹Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961), 147-52. According to Lerner (op. cit., 692) working classes are more likely to choose the secure job even though the pay be lower. Merton (op. cit., 139) sees the practice by the working class of attributing their own or others' lack of success to bad luck, although enabling them to preserve their self-esteem, as an obstacle to any action that might reduce inequality in opportunity and reward.

²Allison Davis, Social Class Influences upon Learning, 22-37.

³Havighurst and Taba (op. cit., 33-34) make this same point.

⁴Warner, Havighurst and Loeb, op. cit., 170.

Kahl, in seeing little point in the assembly-line employee's working hard to get anywhere, since for him there is no place to go, is in effect noting the tendencies of the lower classes to be oriented towards Being and Present rather than Doing and Future. For persons still lower on the socioeconomic scale, their despair and hopelessness, noted by Kahl, indicate the much greater importance in this lower-lower group of the Subject-to-Nature and Being orientations.¹

Difficult to interpret in the value-orientations framework is Havighurst and Taba's finding that "the lower class members of the church tend more toward otherworldliness. . . . They also set great store by personal religious conversion and the personal experience of salvation."² Perhaps the value placed on conversion suggests Being-in-Becoming or Being but not Doing, and Subject-to-Nature rather than Mastery. Emphasis on otherworldly status may indicate abandonment of hope or desire for status in this world, that is, little of the Future orientation, or perhaps a somewhat different Future orientation.

Florence Kluckhohn suggests that among the lower classes Present and Being are frequently combined with Collateral or Individualistic value-orientations.³ Cohen's observation of the lower working class as having restricted ambition and the tendency for day-to-day concern about consumption likewise stresses Present, Being and perhaps the Subject-to-Nature orientation.

¹Kahl, loc. cit.

²Havighurst and Taba, op. cit., 33.

³Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 27.

However, he sees this group as emphasizing reciprocity within the kinship group rather than individual responsibility and thus, unlike Kluckhohn, stresses Collaterality rather than Individualism.¹ The strength of the informal work group in industry supports this emphasis on Collaterality.²

Yet the American lower classes are part of the total culture. In fact, they consider themselves not "lower class" but "working class" or "middle class."³ They form, according to Lerner, no hopeless, embittered proletariat.⁴ Rather, being continuously bombarded with the American Dream and the American Creed, faced with a continuously rising standard of living, aware of mobility into the middle class, and, through education, hopeful for their children, they can be expected to share to some extent the dominant value-orientations. The extent would vary in part with economic conditions and the rigidity of the local class structure.

In summary, it may be stated that when compared to American society generally, certain value-orientations--Subject-to-Nature, Being, Present and Collaterality--seem more important in the lower class, especially in the lowest section of this group, while the Mastery, Doing, Future, Individualistic

¹Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys The Culture of the Gang (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

²For a discussion of this point see Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), especially chapter four.

³Centers (op. cit., 86) found that only one per cent of his total sample considered themselves "lower class," and in the highest category, the unskilled group, only seven per cent so considered themselves.

⁴Lerner op. cit., 467-534, *passim*.

and perhaps Lineal orientations seem of less importance than usual.¹

Determinants of Lower-Class Value-Orientations

Central to the whole question of identifying the value-orientations of the lower classes and of understanding the causes would appear to be their being perceived by themselves and by others as inferior. Their generally low achievement, particularly in the schools, seems crucial. In this connection three points bear examination:

1. It would appear that in modern America progress through the school system is a necessary if not a sufficient condition for success in the prestige race.²

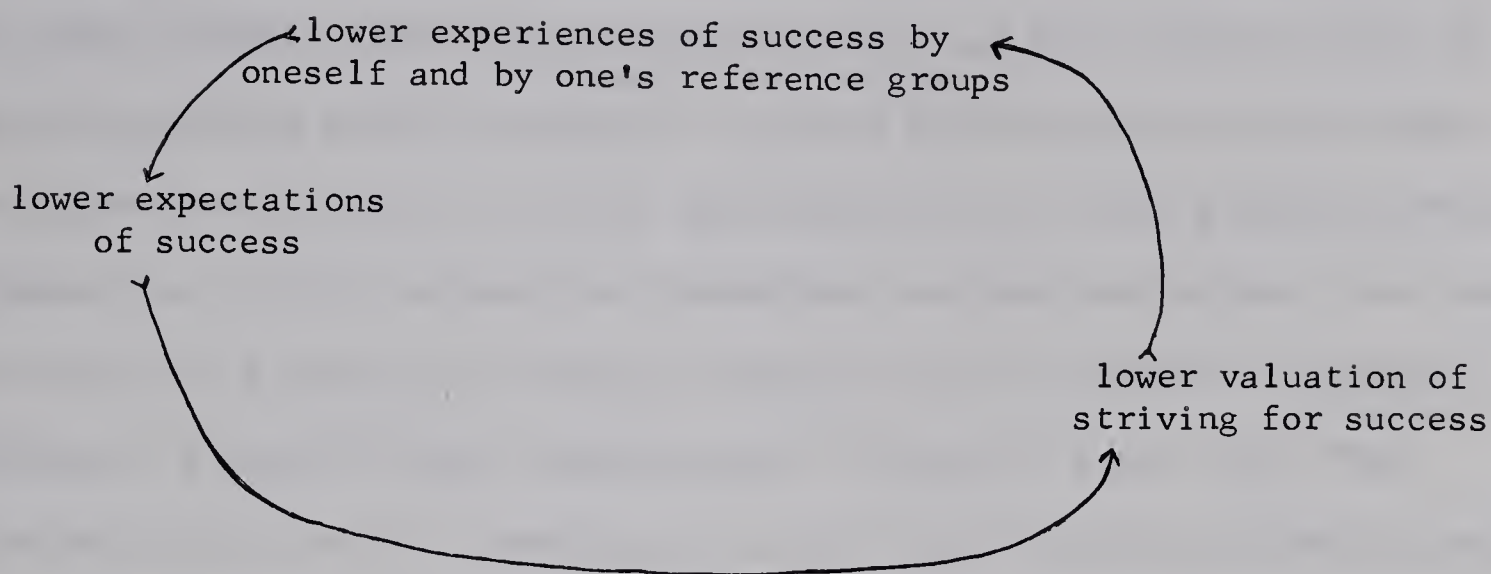
2. Lower-class children for a variety of reasons are less successful in school than others.

3. Lower success is part of an unending cycle that leads to lower expectations of success than others hold, in turn leading to a lower valuation of striving for success, and to a continuation into one's own future

¹Evidence from Miller and Swanson (op. cit., 128-44) presented in the previous section of this chapter, indicated that the lower classes were less prone than the entrepreneurial middle class to emphasize the Mastery, Doing, Future and Individualistic orientations and more likely to stress other value-orientations.

²Some lower-class children, and others, who are highly ambitious, that is highly oriented towards Doing and Mastery, but for whom the legitimate means to success--education, family background--are blocked or unfamiliar, may turn to other, more available means. At least they could some twenty years ago when Whyte, studying an urban American slum, found that "Politics and the rackets have furnished an important means of social mobility for individuals, who, because of ethnic background and low class position, are blocked from advancement in the 'respectable' channels." William Foote Whyte, "Social Organizations in the Slums," American Sociological Review, 8(February, 1943), 34-39; quoted by Merton, op. cit., 77.

and that of one's children of lower-than-average success.



The first point would appear to require little documentation. The other two are developed below. First, some pertinent research on levels of aspiration will be reviewed.

Reference groups and levels of aspiration. Research into levels of aspiration, particularly with respect to the impact of reference groups, provides the key to an understanding of why the lower classes in general are less striving--less emphasizing of Mastery and Doing--and less hopeful for the future than are, say, the middle classes.¹

The first generalization is that where one has no direct experience in an activity, he will tend to set as goals for himself what he perceives to be the actual achievements of members of his reference group. For example, Chapman and Volkmann confronted university students, randomly assigned to

¹For reviews of the literature concerning the impact of reference groups on levels of aspiration see (a) Morton Deutsch, "Field Theory in Social Psychology," Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, editor (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), especially 208-209; and (b) Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (revised edition, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), particularly chapter eighteen.

four groups, with a new test on which they were to forecast their scores. One group forecast scores lower than those they had been told were made by a higher prestige group--professors--a second group forecast scores higher than those, so they had been told, had been made by a lower prestige group--workers--and a third forecast for themselves the same scores made, they had been told, by a group with prestige similar to their own--other students.¹ Similarly, a study by Hyman demonstrated, in Sherif's words, that "the standards people set for themselves are determined by the standards of groups to which they relate themselves." It is not so much the standards of the total population that influence one's standards as much as those of one's friends, family and fellow workers.² In this connection it should be mentioned that an individual's reference groups usually are, but need not be, the groups of which he is a member. Thus, a lower-class child may, but this would not usually be the case, identify with the middle class, or vice versa.

Secondly, research with adolescents, industrial workers, delinquents and others shows how sanctions are applied by groups to members who deviate from their norms.³ Thus, pressure, in ways subtle or otherwise, can be brought to bear by his lower-class membership groups on the overly-ambitious lower-class child.

¹Dwight W. Chapman and John Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 34 (1939), 225-38.

²Sherif and Sherif, op. cit., 626. The study referred to is H. H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archives of Psychology (1942), No. 269.

³Ibid., passim. F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson (Management and the Worker. Cambridge: Harvard University Business Research Studies, 1939) note how ridicule, warnings and "binging" are used by fellow workers to bring a "rate-buster" in line.

Thirdly, where one has had experience with a particular task, his aspirations of future performance vary little from that experience. Sears, in an experiment, found that school children set their goals in accordance with what they believed was their achievement relative to others.¹ Generally, in American society, there has been found the tendency to set levels slightly above previous performance although trends, particularly one's last performance, are important.

Thus, research evidence indicates that one's levels of aspiration, partly a result of his personal experience, are importantly related to the performance of his reference groups and their aspirations for him.² Evidence will now be presented that lower-class children are less successful in school, that they do have lower aspirations, and that both their performance and aspirations accord with the expectations of their reference groups.

Lower-class children have lower aspirations. The evidence declares quite firmly that lower-class children, while aspiring to be better off than their parents, have lower educational, occupational and income aspirations than other children.

Whereas all of Ginsberg's upper-income sample accepted college as a matter of course, graduation from high school was, for his lower-income groups, as much, with a few exceptions, as they could expect. Similarly,

¹Pauline S. Sears, "Levels of Aspiration in Academically Successful and Unsuccessful School Children," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 35 (1940), 498-536.

²An interesting example of the powerful influence of reference groups is provided by one of Whyte's "corner boys" (William Foote Whyte, Street Corner Society. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943). Frank was an exceptionally good bowler whose scores dropped considerably when bowling with his chief reference group--"The Nortons"--among whom his general status was relatively low.

while the latter group aspired to eighty dollars a week, an amount slightly above parental earnings, those of the upper-income group aspired to the same as, or slightly lower than, their parents, an amount very much higher than the lower group. None of the upper-income group aspired to lower-income occupations, as for example, carpenter.¹

Rosenberg's findings for male Cornell university students were similar. While students from wealthy families tended not to expect to exceed parental income and sometimes not to equal it, students from poorer families expected to exceed their parents' income, but the absolute amount of their expectations was, compared to wealthier students', less.²

Remmers, dividing a nationwide sample of teenagers into those of low income and those of high income, found that the former more often checked "Want to learn a trade," "Must select vocation that doesn't require college," "Should I go to college," while more of those of high income were concerned with "How shall I select a college," and "Can I get into college of my choice."³

Lower-class children are less successful in school. Overwhelming evidence exists to support the contention that lower-class children are less successful in school than those from middle or upper-class families. They are less successful in learning to read, achieve less well generally, and are more likely to be dropouts.

¹Ginsberg, op. cit., 150-237, passim.

²Rosenberg, op. cit., 59-61.

³Remmers and Radler, op. cit., 151.

With respect to reading readiness and reading achievement, the research indicates the undeniable influence of the degree of literacy of the child's environment, particularly his home. While a detailed review of studies in this area will not be presented, such factors as speech background, education of parents, availability of books and magazines, and the saliency in the home of positive attitudes towards reading, all of which are related to socio-economic status, appear extremely important.¹

Similarly, lower-class children tend to perform less ably on intelligence tests, particularly of the common group variety,² to experience non-promotion more often,³ to be more likely to drop out of school and to do so earlier than other children,⁴ and less often to be members of the leading crowds in high schools.⁵

Influences of reference groups on lower-class children. The lower aspirations of lower-class children, due partly to their personal experiences of

¹Summaries of research in this area have been made by, among others, Helen M. Robinson (Why Pupils Fail Reading. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946); William S. Gray ("The Sociology, Psychology and Physiology of Reading," The Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Chester W. Harris, editor. Third edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. Pp. 1088-1114); and Jean D. Dey ("Theory and Practice Governing the Time of School Entrance," unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, 1960).

²Kenneth Eells et al., Intelligence and Cultural Differences (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951).

³Walter H. Worth, "What Research Says About Promotions," Canadian Education, 15 (September, 1960), 61-70.

⁴August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949); Robert J. Havighurst et al., Growing Up in River City (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962).

⁵James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

lower success, particularly in school, are due also in part to the influences on them of the interests and attitudes of their reference groups, and perhaps to a reciprocated rejection by other strata, including teachers and other pupils.

Ginsberg, in attempting to account for the lower educational aspirations of his lower-income groups, suggests that both these children and their parents do not know about college, that none of their relatives or friends go there or have gone there. They are unaware also of the requirements of many jobs. Their ignorance of these things in part accounts for their low level of aspiration.¹

Havighurst argues that the generally poorer school performance of lower-class children, while attributable somewhat to unfavourable bias in curriculum and tests, is largely due to lack of motivation towards achievement, particularly school achievement:

Lower-class parents, on the other hand, seldom push the children hard in school and do not show by example or by precept that they believe education is highly important. In fact, they usually show the opposite attitude. With the exception of a minority who urgently desire mobility for their children, lower-class parents tend to place little value on high achievement in school or on school attendance beyond the minimum age. . . .

To the average lower-class child a test is just another place to be punished, to have one's weaknesses shown up, to be reminded that one is at the tail end of the procession.²

¹Ginsberg, op. cit., 154-55. The strength of reference-group influence is perhaps indicated by the persistence of lowly ambition and low aspirations for living standards despite the wide dissemination of middle and upper-class culture through the schools and the mass media, particularly television.

²Robert J. Havighurst, "What Are the Cultural Differences Which May Affect Performance on Intelligence Tests?" Intelligence and Cultural Differences, Kenneth Eells, et al., editors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 21.

Some parents who are members of the lower class repudiate it and take the middle class as a reference group, adopt its aspirations and pass them along to their children. Kahl, for example, interviewed the parents of twenty-four working class boys all of sufficient intelligence to go to college, although only twelve planned to go. The interviews disclosed differences in parental attitudes:

. . . Although there was a general way of life which identified the common man class, some members were content with that way of life while others were not. Parents who were discontented tended to train their sons from the earliest years of grammar school to take school seriously and use education as the means to climb into the middle class. Only sons who internalized such values were sufficiently motivated to overcome the obstacles which faced the common man boys in school, only they saw a reason for good school performance and college aspiration.¹

The major generalization from the foregoing discussion is that the life experiences of the lower-class child are such as to confirm in him the value-orientations continually communicated to him by the precept and example of his family and friends. His educational, occupational and monetary aspirations, while generally higher than the achievements of his parents are lower than those of other groups. Sharing to some extent the general value-orientations of American society, the lower-class person can be expected to place more emphasis than usual on the Being, Present, Collateral and Subject-to-Nature orientations.

VII. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS OF THE UPPER CLASSES

Studies of American communities lead to the conclusion that the upper classes in America are often more Being and less Doing-oriented than the

¹ Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (Summer, 1953), 201.

average American, that while they share, except perhaps in the South, the Mastery orientation and the general optimism about the future, they orient to the Past more than most people. Also, the Lineal orientation would appear stronger.¹

Warner, Havighurst and Loeb see the upper classes, particularly the upper-uppers, as being more satisfied with themselves, less engaged in the struggle for prestige, more prone to engage in activities that contribute to the satisfaction of a person in his present social position.²

Findings from Havighurst and Taba's 1942-43 study of sixteen-year olds in Prairie City were similar:

Members of the upper class place importance on their family's past history. They like to talk about the preceding generations. They like to spend money on things which will not produce a profit, such as objects of art, fine horses, fine houses, and philanthropy.³

Kluckhohn observes that the Yankee City data of Warner and his associates . . . show an adherence to Lineality rather than Individualism, to Past more than Future time, and to either the Being or Being-in-Becoming activity orientation rather than to the Doing orientation.⁴

Yet these data deal not with the upper class in general but that particular section of it living in small cities. The upper classes of Yankee City are those of an old and declining community. In Prairie City the upper-uppers are the "old families and aristocrats." Some allowance must be made for sampling bias and the probability that the orientations of these upper-

¹Kahl, The American Class Structure, 187-93.

²Warner, Havighurst and Loeb, op. cit., 170.

³Havighurst and Taba, op. cit., 31.

⁴Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, op. cit., 27.

class people may not coincide with other sections of the upper class.

Mead sees but a very few families as being like those just described:

Even where a family has reached the top and actually stayed there for two or three generations, there are, for all but the very, very few, still larger cities or foreign courts to be stormed. Those American families which settle back to maintain a position of having reached the top in most cases moulder there for lack of occupation, ladder-climbers gone stale from sitting too long on the top step, giving a poor imitation of the aristocracy of other lands.

She sees this portion of the rich as confident, secure, unassailable, not part of the status struggle.²

Her point is that in the United States one works to succeed in the prestige hierarchy, but having achieved the topmost status and secured one's position, continued striving is largely purposeless. Thus, American society is unlike feudal society where different work is prescribed for each estate. America's children of the upper-upper classes tend to become playboys, that is to adopt a Being or perhaps a Being-in-Becoming orientation. In this they are somewhat like European royalty and aristocracy whose job of ruling has been taken from them. Lynes, like Mead, suggests that there are very few idle rich in America.³

But, apart from these and the local elites in static or declining communities, what of the other upper classes? What of the national elite, those of the big cities, the rapidly-expanding communities? The role in American national politics of some of the upper class is well known, while many others, never seeming to have achieved enough power, prestige and wealth, continue to expand their own or parental fortunes. Mills declares that the upper class,

¹Mead, op. cit., 39.

²Ibid., 59.

³Lynes, op. cit., chapter two.

with little or no function on the local level, performs nationally and sometimes internationally the role of integrating and controlling the direction of American society, especially in business, the armed services, government.¹ This implies Doing and Mastery orientations with the middle-class struggle for prestige becoming, in at least some of the upper class, competition for supreme power.

The lower-upper class has been described in most community studies, particularly by the Warner group, as also striving for prestige, and by such techniques as conspicuous consumption to become part of the upper-upper class.² As big businessmen they dominate the community although to most citizens their activities may not be apparent.³

McArthur, using the value-orientations framework but not the original instrument, administered projective tests to two groups of Harvard freshmen. One, the members of whom had attended private schools, he called upper class; the other whose members had attended public schools he called middle class. His data suggested that the upper-class students were concerned less with Doing⁴ and more with Being-in-Becoming than the middle classes studied. Similarly, the former were more Past, less Future-oriented, and more Lineally-oriented.⁵

¹C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959).

²Warner, Havighurst and Loeb, op. cit., 22.

³Havighurst and Taba, op. cit., 17. The same point is made by others including Floyd Hunter (Community Power Structure, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

⁴This lack of emphasis on Doing agrees with the findings of Rosenberg and of Ginsberg, mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, that few upper-class students expect to exceed parental income and some not to equal it.

⁵Charles McArthur, "Personality Differences between Middle and Upper Classes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 50 (March, 1955), 247-54.

Summary

By way of summary, it can be said that the upper classes while largely sharing the dominant value-orientations of American society are sometimes prone, particularly in smaller and static communities, to place more stress than usual on the Being, Past and Lineal orientations.

VIII. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND MODELS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

In this section there will be discussed the relevance for the study of value-orientations of several models of American society.

Social Class Models

The various models of the American social structure known as social class are alike in that they divide people, largely on the basis of wealth or occupation, into several groups ranked one above the other as strata or classes. The members of each social class resemble each other, and are distinguishable from the members of other classes, on a number of important characteristics--prestige, occupation, possessions, interaction, class consciousness and values.¹

Although the origins of the concept are ancient, and its development owes much to Marx and Weber, its popular use in America dates largely from the works of W. Lloyd Warner and his associates. Warner, basing his analysis largely on the criterion of prestige, found that people in Yankee City during the depression distinguished among themselves six groupings: an upper-upper class with 1.4 per cent of the population, lower-upper with 1.6 per cent, upper-middle 10.2 per cent, lower-middle 28.1 per cent, upper-lower 32.6 per cent,

¹Kahl, op. cit., 8-10.

and lower-lower 25.2 per cent.¹ He found the members of each group to resemble each other on characteristics similar to those mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Somewhat similar class structures were suggested for other cities studied.² Both he and Hollingshead found that five prestige strata could be detected in Jonesville.³ Among the largely-objective measures which have been developed to determine an individual's social class are Warner's Index of Social Characteristics⁴--a weighted average of occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area--and Chapin's Living-room Index.⁵ Others use such devices as predetermined prestige ratings of occupations,⁶ or weighted averages of education and occupation.⁷ Kahl, taking family income as his criterion, and after making adjustments for the retired and the young, divides American families of 1955 into five classes: upper containing one per cent, upper-middle nine per cent, lower-middle forty, working forty, and lower class

¹W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

²Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

³Hollingshead, op. cit.

⁴W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960).

⁵Kahl, op. cit., 45.

⁶National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Class, Status and Power, Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset, editors (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), 411-26.

⁷Bernard R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Society, Bernard R. Blishen et al., editors (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1961), 477-85.

ten per cent.¹

Seeing American society as consisting of ranked groups, homogeneous on the dimensions specified above, is often very useful. For example, preceding sections of this chapter found middle, lower and upper classes--a rough approximation of Warner's categories--a helpful model of American society. It was useful, as the models that depict America simply as a society of equals or as a society of equal opportunity could not be, in providing a simple framework around which differences in value-orientations could be discussed.

Elaborated Social-Class Model

Yet, for a more thorough understanding of variations in value-orientations, social class is itself too simple a model of American society. Age, ethnicity, religion, geographic area, and rural-urban residence also affect value-orientations, and therefore complicate the model. Moreover, to explain inconsistencies in value-orientations occurring within the same social class, divisions other than horizontal have sometimes to be made. The middle class, for example, was found to contain bureaucratic and entrepreneurial sections differing from each other in value-orientations.

The model must be adapted even further to take into account Lyne's notion that America is depicted the more accurately not by a single horizontally-structured society of classes, but by "a series of almost free-standing pyramids each with its several levels and each one topped by an aristocracy of its own." He suggests that communication among members of different pyramids is difficult since their experiences, concepts, vocabulary and interests vary. Ideas of success differ as do status symbols which are, "as unlike as,

¹Kahl, op. cit., 184-220.

say, a swimming pool and an academic hood."¹ He is not so much suggesting differences in value-orientations among pyramids as much as differences in detailed values, which itself complicates a study of value-orientations and its relevant model of the social structure.

Thus, in the study of value-orientations the most useful model would appear to be one that takes into account social class, certainly, but also the numerous other variables or secondary groups mentioned.

The Reference Group Model

Earlier in the present chapter evidence was presented which indicated that a child's face-to-face groups, especially his family and friends, have an overwhelming influence in developing his value-orientations. For adults, especially in the generally impersonal society of the city, the work group is, next to family, very important, although neighbours and other friends may be significant also. It is largely through these primary groups that the influences of social class, religion, ethnicity and other secondary groups reach the individual.

Thus, from the point of view of value-orientations, each individual can be seen as linked by ties of varying influence to each of the individuals forming his primary groups. Each of an individual's secondary groups consist of himself, usually some or all of the members of his primary groups, and other people, with the influence on a particular individual of a secondary group varying with the number of his primary group members in it. It is with this three-part model of the American social structure--individuals, their primary groups and their secondary classifications, especially social class and community--that variations in value-orientations seem best able

¹Russell Lynes, op. cit., chapter two.

to be studied.

The Reference Group Model and Limited Striving

Interpreters of modern America, particularly Reisman, seem disturbed and somewhat puzzled by the lack of great ambition characteristic of many Americans, the emphasis on security and comfort, rather than on fame and wealth. Most everybody wants more but only a little more, not a peak but a plateau.¹ The reference group model of American society, which has been developed above, provides the means by which this limited striving can be understood.

Paralleling this phenomenon of limited striving and suggested here as contributing largely to it, are changes in face-to-face relationships.² In the more entrepreneurial society of the frontier, or even of a generation or so ago, one's interaction tended to be less confined than today to one's own social class. One was more likely to know at first hand those above, including those far above, and those below. The class structure, the steps leading up or down were plain to see. The modern American also is aware of status differences, but these have to be conveyed not personally but indirectly, through symbols, such as name of occupation, make of car, or diploma. He has few, if any, personal bonds with those of other classes. Consequently, he strives to emulate those with whom he does have fact-to-face relations--his own social stratum, particularly his own occupational, familial and friendship groups. The status seeker today, whether objectively definable as upper, lower or middle class, is striving for a higher position among these groups, his near-equals. His conspicuous consumption, or underconsumption, his activities, his attempts to impress are directed almost

¹Riesman, "New Standards for Old," op. cit.; Lynes, op. cit., 106-120.

²Part of the explanation lies perhaps with people's realistic appraisal

solely at them. In urban, anonymous, bureaucratic and pyramidal America, the striver is aware of the rungs immediately above and immediately below, with whose occupants he has frequent contact. For those far above or far below awareness is vague. He may know the symbols that indicate status differences but not the referents.

In early America one had something approaching primary relations with everyone else. The gamut of the social structure, including the top and the steps leading to it, was clearly visible. The ambitious, unlike those of today, had a clear idea of where to aim and how to get there. Today's ambitious are necessarily myopic, and being myopic seek to advance by tiny steps.¹

IX. SUMMARY

In the first sections of the present chapter the value-orientations of American society were discussed--their order of dominance and patterns of change. It was suggested that Mastery-over-Nature, Doing, Future and Individualism were perhaps still dominant today for the average person, with Being, Present, Bureaucratic Lineality and perhaps Collaterality increasing significantly in importance, while Subject-to-Nature and Past orientations were perhaps increasing slightly. Harmony-with-Nature, Being-in-Becoming,

that with increasing control of social life by large-scale organizations there are fewer opportunities for entrepreneurship. On the other hand, for those at the top, the peaks of power are higher than ever before.

¹In folk and peasant societies, also characterized largely by face-to-face relationships among all social levels, status, unlike in America, is ascribed, not achieved.

Intergenerational and Inter-estate Lineality seem always to have been of negligible importance. Variations by age, ethnicity, occupation, religion, rural-urban residence, and geographic area were noted but not developed in detail.

The middle classes were seen as sharing the dominant patterns except that the important new bureaucratic middle class was emphasizing Present, Being and Lineality more than the older entrepreneurial middle class, but Future, Doing, Individualism and perhaps Mastery-over-Nature somewhat less. The lower classes, especially the lower-lower class, seemed to place more stress than most Americans especially on Subject-to-Nature and Collaterality, also on Being and Present, but less stress than others on Mastery, Doing, Individualistic and Future orientations. It was suggested that the upper section of the upper class, particularly old families in static communities, departed from the typical American pattern in placing more stress on Past, and perhaps more on Being, Being-in-Becoming, Intergenerational Lineality and Inter-estate Lineality.

Finally, the social class model of American society was combined with other secondary-group variables and the concept of primary groups to produce for the study of variations in value-orientations, a more adequate model of the social structure of America.

CHAPTER V

HIGH SCHOOL PEER GROUPS AND VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

A phenomenon increasingly characteristic of American society is systematic age-grouping, whereby people, particularly children, although by no means only they, spend longer periods of the day, and of their lives, with others of similar age. For example, in schools with automatic promotion, children are usually with their age mates until they graduate. It is the school, charged with the responsibility of offering more and more years of training for the young, which provides for children the chief center of peer activity.¹ It is the senior high school especially, but also importantly the junior high school and the college, where peer activity is most highly developed and concentrated. Many analysts suggest that these teenagers are so distinct from people at large that they can be said to form a society of their own with a distinct culture. Such a teenage school society can exist only within a larger society which is both affluent and preoccupied with youth and staying young. It is the direct result of herding children of both sexes and of the same age together into large groups consisting only of themselves, and providing them with few tasks, much money, luxurious surroundings, and the promise that if they remain long enough, that is, become educated, they thereby attain the means to continued luxury. Thus Coleman sees the American child of high-school age:

He is "cut off" from the rest of society, forced inward toward his own age group, made to carry out his whole social life with others his own age. With his fellows, he comes to constitute a small society, one that has most of its important interactions within

¹This is less true for those who drop out of school, and for those who do not attend college.

itself, and maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult society.¹

Others speak similarly of teenage culture,² or American youth culture.³ Still others deny the existence of any simple, homogeneous adolescent sub-culture,⁴ even to the point of labelling the notion a myth.⁵

The present chapter will discuss teenage peer groups, particularly within the context of the high school, and their effects on the value-orientations of their members. Comparisons will be made between adult and teenage value-orientations to discover what, if anything, is uniquely teenage. Differences in value-orientations among high school students will be discussed along with the factors which appear to underlie them.

I. THE ACTIVITY PROBLEM

Although teenagers generally appear more oriented to Being, less toward Doing than adults, probing reveals complexities.

Being

The extreme hedonism of American youth, its emphasis on fun, self-indulgence and sensuality have been frequently noted. Perhaps everyone

¹James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), 3.

²Jessie Bernard, editor, "Teen-age Culture," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 338 (November, 1961).

³Ernest A. Smith, American Youth Culture (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

⁴Robert C. Bealer and Fern K. Willits, "Rural Youth: A Case Study in the Rebelliousness of Adolescents," The Annals, op. cit., 63-69.

⁵Frederick Elkin and William A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," American Sociological Review, 20 (December, 1955), 680-84.

is familiar with the stereotype of relentless consumption popularized by advertisers and held even by teenagers, of the coke-drinking, cuddling, record-playing, bongo-beating, chore-avoiding "teen," whose interests in life revolve about parties, sports, the body beautiful's cosmetics and attire, the thrills of speed, petting, and sometimes of delinquency, whose idols are the football star, the cheerleader, the pops singer.

Knill found that the higher the grade of Saskatoon high school pupils the greater the proportion of them choosing responses that could be labelled hedonistic. Although his interpretation is the reverse, the datum perhaps indicates that the teenage sub-culture is more hedonistic than the adult culture, since the proportion of exposure of the younger, less hedonistic children, had been more to parents, less to teenage society than the older youth. These latter carry the hedonism of the youth culture into the new generation of adults thus bringing about a slight change from traditional values. It must be noted, however, that Knill found that for all grades most students did not choose the hedonistic response.¹

From data on teenage consumer expenditure, Bernard concludes that teenagers form a leisure class:

Our teen-age culture--in contradistinction to the teen-age culture of the past or of other societies--is a product of affluence. It is possible because our society can afford a large leisure class of youngsters not in the labor force but yet consumers on a vast scale, or, if in the labor force, free to spend their earnings on themselves. And they spend it primarily on clothes, cosmetics, recreational paraphernalia,² records, cars, travel, and other leisure class goods and services.

¹W. Knill, "High School Students are Idealistic," Canadian Home & School, 22(June, 1963), 6-9.

²Bernard, op. cit., 3.

Coleman's research provides very strong evidence of the emphasis placed by today's youth on athletics, parties and popularity, rather than on scholastic achievement.¹

A further indication of increased hedonism is the change over the past generation in the sexual practices of American teenagers--the tremendous increase in petting. Reiss notes little increase in sexual intercourse among teenagers, although Kinsey's findings indicate increases among people in their early twenties particularly those contemplating marriage. By age twenty most males and one female in five has had intercourse. Reiss also points out that promiscuity among teenagers--even of petting--is uncommon. He suggests that they are far more restrained than their older unmarried brothers and sisters, and indicates that one teenage boy in three, one girl in five, does not date at all. Yet today's teenager is very much pre-occupied with sex. Unlike those of a generation ago, says Reiss, most of today's teenagers pet heavily. He links this with the fact that about half of senior high school students and one quarter of junior high students have had some experience in going steady, with the absence of chaperoning, and with the new code of "petting with affection," sometimes, although not often, becoming for older teenagers particularly of the lower classes "permissiveness with affection." He suggests that this increase in petting is a conservative reflection of "a more general trend in American society toward more equalitarian and more permissive sexual codes in all areas."²

¹Coleman, op. cit.

²Ira L. Reiss, "Sexual Codes in Teen-Age Culture," The Annals, op. cit., 53-62. Much of his evidence is either from his own research (Ira L. Reiss, Premarital Sexual Standards in America, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), that of Kinsey (Alfred C. Kinsey et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953, and Alfred C.

Except in degree and detail, there seems little peculiarly teenage in this limited hedonism. The pattern of activity of high school pupils seems but an extreme, futuristic version of an American "fun culture," noted in Chapter IV as emerging particularly in the bureaucratic middle class. Several data indicate this class to be particularly influential in schools.¹ First, with dropouts largely lower-class, those pupils remaining contain higher proportions from the middle class.² Secondly, and very important, the leading crowds in all high schools other than those in lower-class districts are, according to Coleman, dominated by middle-class, fun-loving youth.³ Dansereau suggests that in an era where automation and bureaucratization are sapping much of the creative joys from work, "teen-age culture with the emphasis on fun may be a functional prototype of future adult culture."⁴

Doing

While stating, quite properly, the pre-occupation of teenagers with Being, one hastens to add that, for many, Doing, not Being, seems the dominant value-orientation, and that it is certainly important for all of them. Obviously, at school, most of their time is spent accomplishing tasks of one sort or another, working, not self-indulgence. At home, there are, even in

Kinsey et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948), or August B. Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949).

¹One can but speculate whether the increasing emphasis on Being is influencing the expectations for teenage behaviour of officials, board members and teachers--themselves largely of the bureaucratic middle class.

²Robert J. Havighurst, et al., Growing Up in River City (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962).

³Coleman, op. cit. The same point is made by Havighurst and Taba's research--Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949), 36.

⁴H. Kirk Dansereau, "Work and the Teen-Ager," The Annals, op. cit., 44.

urban apartments, some chores. Also, many teenagers do odd jobs for money--baby-sitting, lawn-mowing, paper routes--while others have part-time employment at supermarkets, department stores, and car-washing establishments. Hours of hard work are spent repairing cars, practicing cheers, learning dances, preparing and clearing up after parties, enticing new members into the fan club, and at hobbies generally. But for society's closing the labour market to teenagers, and insisting on lengthy schooling, many would undoubtedly be working even more.

Yet the teenager's chief form of Doing is the achievement of status. Important as this is for most adults, as has been shown previously, it seems even more important for teenagers. More or less loosely attached to his family where there may be much bickering but usually little doubt about his status, the typical teenager must spend much of his youthful life among other groups where his status, his rank order, is neither secure nor clear. Several statuses are involved including those of the home room, the bus and the neighbourhood. There is also his status within the school group as a whole. But, by far the most important to him are securing and advancing his status in informal groups--cliques of his own sex, a mixed "crowd," and, increasingly with age, among individuals of the opposite sex.¹

His position is rather analogous to that of his father at work, differences being superficial and involving details rather than principle. While the father's strivings are centered chiefly in his occupation, the child's status among his peers relates to fun and leisure activities. Even for adults, as we have seen previously, leisure pursuits have their elements of status

¹Smith, op. cit., 63 ff.

striving. That the adolescent is generally more pre-occupied with sex than his parents is perhaps partly physiological, but partly related to his parents' sexual status being, unlike his own, relatively permanent and secure. Teenage emphasis on fun, beauty, popularity, is far from being purely self-indulgence, but largely concern with status, for these are the means he and his peers use to achieve it.

It was noted in Chapter IV that the American's concern with status must, necessarily, in his industrialized, anonymous urban society, be with security and perhaps with upward mobility within adjacent ranks of his occupational pyramid, and within his face-to-face groups, rather than for status within society as a whole, that only a very few people--some politicians, but chiefly entertainers on the mass media--can ever be known throughout society. The teenager too--unless he be a hopeful mass media idol--is not concerned with society-wide status. However, within most of his world--the school which he attends--it is within the realm of the possible for him to be visible to all and achieve status, that is, to be a member of what Coleman calls "the leading crowd."¹ For most pupils, however, the status with which they are concerned about securing or advancing is within the smaller, face-to-face groups to which they belong or want to belong, to their monosexual cliques and heterosexual "crowds."

Remmers' national polls showed that among teenagers' most frequent concerns were knowing how to get along well with people, particularly in being popular with one's own and the opposite sex, yet compared with the more than half who desired status among their friends, only one quarter

¹James S. Coleman, "Athletics in High School," The Annals, op. cit., 36. Of course, family position is virtually a necessary condition, although not usually sufficient for school-wide status, for membership in the leading crowd.

were particularly concerned with being in the leading crowd.¹

Cliques, in addition to being composed either of boys or girls, tend to be homogeneous by social class, school year, place of residence, although boys who are athletic stars and, less frequently, girls who are pretty can cross barriers of class and grade. Higher status within the clique is awarded to those who excel in activities that interest the members, and to those who provide leadership or make contributions towards group goals. Boys' cliques may be interested primarily in cars, athletics, chasing girls, pool, or study, or combinations of these. Girls' cliques focus on similar activities with perhaps fan clubs substituted for cars and pool.² For girls, status even within their own clique comes in part from popularity with the opposite sex (or, at least, not lack of popularity). Thus teenage magazines, to which one teenager in twenty--chiefly girls--subscribes, deal almost exclusively with how to act with, or be popular with the other sex, and how to improve one's appearance and personality.³

An important purpose of dating--apparently a peculiarly American, particularly a middle-class American institution--has not been, among high school and college students, usually courtship, nor primarily companionship or affection, but largely to gain prestige among one's friends. The boy's prestige would vary directly with the number of dates, the popularity of the girls dated and the extent of the conquest. For girls, prestige would depend on how often she were asked to date and the status of the petitioners, but also in her success in parrying their advances while retaining their

¹Remmers and Radler, op. cit., 80-85, 140, and 236.

²Coleman, The Adolescent Society, 173-219.

³Charles H. Brown, "Self-Portrait: The Teen-Type Magazine," The Annals, op. cit., 13-21.

interest.¹ However, the increasing tendency of youth to go steady and to achieve a stable, long-term petting relationship is tending to decrease promiscuous dating and the competitive behaviour it entails.² Yet, even among younger children, dating--without its more predatory aspects--is an important gauge of popularity, with perhaps a majority of those entering their teens having, according to Smith, already dated.³

Narrow-range status striving perhaps describes the Doing activities of many adolescents. Moreover, the replacing of athletics by inter-school debates, quizzes, or computer-using games in the school subjects, as Coleman advocates, would not alter this striving. However, while it would not perhaps change very much the membership in the leading crowd, it might bring its goals more in line with those formally proclaimed for the school.

Summary

Teenage value-orientations on the Activity problem are seen as somewhat similar to those of their adult reference groups, with greater emphases on Being, and perhaps on the status-securing aspect of Doing. As with adults, the Being-in-Becoming orientation seems to be of little moment.

¹Smith's (op. cit., chapter eight) description of this behaviour is similar to observations by Mead, Gorer, and others.

²It has not yet been established whether steady dating is related to bureaucratically-employed parents and competitive dating to entrepreneurial parentage. However, since bureaucracy and steady dating have in common security for the participants, increases in each may be related to the general decline in American society of Individualism and the individual's sense of Mastery-over-Nature.

³Smith, loc. cit.

II. THE RELATIONAL PROBLEM

Since teenagers are involved so long and so deeply with their equals, they would appear more Collaterally-oriented, less Individualistically-oriented than most adults, and with a somewhat different Lineal orientation. Again the picture is quite complex.

Collaterality

Collaterality seems to be an important teenage value-orientation. Even the casual adult observer must be struck by the extent to which teenagers appeal against the authority of their parents and teachers to that of their equals. Gorer remarks how frequently children resort to the cry of "Gee, all the other kids are allowed to," and how it is the peer group which sets the standard, particularly in adolescence but also in adult life.¹ Moreover, the ease with which teenage cliques are formed and the easy movement from one clique to another makes peer agreement--Collaterality--a somewhat common form of decision-making. The leaders may announce the decisions and sometimes appear to rule autocratically, but with the only power of enforcement that of the voluntary group itself, their pronouncements tend to be those with which the group agrees.

Rebelliousness in Youth

Before coming to any sure conclusions about the value-orientations² pattern of teenagers concerning the Relational problem, that is the extent to which they are dominantly Collateral, Individualistic or Lineal,

¹Gorer, op. cit., 62-64.

there will be examined a difference of opinion that for some time has existed among students, as to the alleged rebelliousness of modern youth.

The case for rebelliousness. A generation ago Kingsley Davis contrasted such rebelliousness with the docility of youth in primitive society and suggested rapid social change as the cause.¹ Matza in reviewing the literature, mentions others with similar viewpoints.²

Mays refers specifically to Britain but suggests that similar phenomena are observable elsewhere in Western Europe and particularly in the United States:

The behavior of some young people is considered by the older members of the society to be hostile, aggressive and socially disruptive to a degree that was unknown before the Second World War. The consequences of this state of affairs are anxiety on the part of adults and uncertainty in the mind of youth as the two age and status₃ groups confront each other across a deep divide of mutual alienation.

As evidence, he points to numerical increases among teenagers of hooliganism, crime, drug addiction, drunkenness, gang warfare and unwed motherhood.⁴ These, Mays suggests, indicate a fundamental malaise in modern industrial society, the result of widespread social change coupled with geographic

¹Kingsley Davis, "Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," American Sociological Review, 5 (August, 1940), 523-35.

²David Matza, "Subterranean Traditions of Youth," The Annals, op. cit., 103.

³John Barron Mays, "Teen-age Culture in Contemporary Britain and Europe," The Annals, op. cit., 23.

⁴Smith (op. cit., 90-97) quotes numerous statistics to indicate that in frequency most crimes in the United States are committed by young people between fifteen and twenty-one years of age, although among them, the older ones commit the more serious crimes.

and social mobility which produce both confusion in values, and anti-traditional attitudes. Teenage spending power and emphasis upon sensation instead of intellect, he sees as additional but related causes.

The case against rebelliousness. Yet, others argue perhaps even more convincingly that teenagers are not usually rebels. Bernard sums up their arguments in her foreward to a collection of articles on teenage culture:

But even 19 million individual rebellious adolescents do not add up to an army or even a resistance movement. They add up. . .to bearers of a conservative . . .traditional. . .culture which, far from rejecting adult values, pays them the supreme compliment of imitating or borrowing them and adapting them to its own needs. Teen-age culture, even in its contrapuntal forms, is an adaption . . .or prototype. . .or caricature. . .of adult culture. This volume might well be viewed, therefore, as a picture of adult culture today as reflected in the teen-age culture which it fosters.¹

Even Mays, who has been quoted above as seeing quite clearly a deep rift between teenagers and adults, warns against exaggerating the problem:

But the problem can be exaggerated, and it is important to remember that it is phasic in character, that the vast majority of young people do not find it necessary to express themselves in such melodramatic and negativistic ways; and that, even of those who do, only a fraction are so psychologically disturbed² that their bad behavior lasts beyond the teen-age period.

Reiss, having summarized research evidence on sexual codes, denies that with respect to sexual behaviour teenagers are defiant of adult culture:

The research evidence on sexual codes seems somewhat at odds with the popular view that teen-agers have a type of youth culture which, in its irresponsibility, extremism, and defiance, is in strong conflict with the adult culture. The venereal disease rates, unwed motherhood rates, and studies of teen-age attitudes give evidence³ of a more conservative behavior pattern than exists for older couples.

Bealer and Willits investigated the general hypothesis that in the closely-knit farm family, where teenagers because of isolation and chores

¹Bernard, op. cit., ii

²Mays, op. cit., 27.

³Reiss, op. cit., 53.

were unable to participate much in the youth culture, parent-youth conflict would be at a minimum--less than, say, in the rural non-farm family, less in turn than the town or city family. They report most studies, including their own, to have found no association between place of residence and degree of conflict. In fact, school children participating most in youth culture--operationally defined as extra-curricular activities--were least likely to reject parental norms. They question the characterization of adolescence as a period of rebellion against parental norms and rejection of traditional values. They suggest that the fact of cultural continuity from generation to generation denies any theory of adolescent rebellion, the consequences of which, they say, would be to prevent continuity. What does characterize youth is not rejection of societal norms but disagreement with parents about when the child's maturity is to be recognized, that when the child gets his wish and is accepted as an adult this conflict ceases.¹

Moreover, the opinions of teenagers have been found by researchers to be quite like those of adults. When Remmers asked a nationwide panel of teenagers in 1952 for whom they would vote if they were able, their responses predicted the Eisenhower popular vote more accurately than any pre-election polling of adults. Other research comparing teenage with adult attitudes on such matters as segregation, federal aid to education and teachers' pay, led to the conclusion that the attitudes of American teenagers are, to a very great extent, those of American adults.²

Synthesis. The theory that each young person is inducted into the culture by his reference groups, chiefly his parents and peers, enables

¹Bealer and Willits, loc. cit.

²Remmers and Radler, op. cit., 248-50.

these diverse viewpoints to be synthesized. Some young people are delinquents, some of whose norms differ markedly from those of the dominant adult social classes. But since some adults, particularly those closely concerned with juvenile rebels, similarly reject these same norms, the problems mentioned by Mays--hooliganism, crime, drug addiction, drunkenness, gang warfare, unwed motherhood--are not uniquely teenage. Even Smith, believing strongly that an American youth culture exists distinct from adult culture, points out that gangs and gangsters flourish in the same big-city slums.¹ Thus, delinquent behaviour is deviant not from reference group norms but from the norms of society at large, a continuation of the deviance of their reference groups. Proportionately, very few teenagers or adults are delinquents.

Parents, because they have usually been close to the child since birth, are, from the standpoint of total influence to date, the child's chief reference group. However, their increments in influence generally tend to decrease from the child's infancy onwards. This would vary greatly from one family to another according to the extent to which the family was an economic unit, according to its socio-economic status, stability, child-rearing practices, and according to the presence and nature of other influences.

Other important influences, beginning in pre-school years and perhaps reaching a peak in adolescence, are peers--siblings, the clique, the crowd, the date, and perhaps the gang. Remmers asked a nationwide sample of teenagers whose opinion they considered more important: people their own age, or parents (or people their parents' age); or whether neither was important.

¹Smith, op. cit., 88-89.

For "What to wear to a party," "The clubs you join," "Personal grooming," and "How to act when out with the gang," the majority chose the peer group, but for "Advice on personal problems or troubles," "Your political feelings," and "How to spend your money," they chose the parental group.¹ Thus, in some areas of behaviour the important reference group is parents, in others, peers. Neither group is the chief influence in every area nor the only influence in any area.

In part, peer groups supplement the family and the school by transmitting special parts of the cultural heritage--information about sex, skills in driving a car and in forming friendships. In part, they transmit items of youth culture itself--competitive dating, petting, dislike of school, throwing snowballs. Smith, in discussing delinquency, suggests that while delinquent behaviour is part of the culture of the deteriorated community, it is assimilated, transmitted and spread largely through gangs.²

Eisenstadt, using the Parsons-Shils framework of pattern variables, suggests that in modern society age-grading provides a particularly vital function. Teenage society and the school--the chief age-grading systems--break down the power of the family and inculcate the universalism demanded by the modern state, rather than the particularism of kinship and family.³ A further function in American society, that one might suggest, concerns social change. Despite Bealer and Willits' emphasis on social continuity, rapid change does occur. It occurs, however, among both adults and teenagers, but with youth, being less involved in the customs of yesteryear, absorbing change more easily and in greater amounts. Consequently, some validity must

¹Remmers and Radler, op. cit., 222-37. ²Smith, loc. cit.

³S. N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956), passim.

be attributed to Davis' analysis and to the divide mentioned by Mays, although the latter seems to have greatly exaggerated the depth of the rift. Perhaps a more accurate statement of the reality is that rapid social change, long a characteristic of American society, causes each generation to differ somewhat from the preceding one.

Youth in American society must eventually become independent in many ways from the family and it is around this dependent-independent changeover, as Bealer and Willits insist, that most parent-child bickering occurs. The results from Remmers' polling of teenagers confirm this interpretation. Teenagers want to please their parents, to consult with them and at the same time, and increasingly with age, to make their own decisions, to leave behind the status of children.¹ Eisenstadt, too, sees some opposition between the two age groups as important in clarifying for youth their future roles.² This is the phasal behaviour of adolescents so general in American society. The delinquency behaviour termed phasal by Mays is not entirely phasal nor general in youth, but to an important extent a continuing characteristic normative of certain socio-economic environments.

Some of the behaviour sometimes called the rebelliousness of youth appears due to an incongruity induced by social change, particularly where technical schools are inadequate. General cultural emphasis on school-leaving certificates as prerequisite to employment leaves unemployable many teenagers, mostly from the lower classes, who are inept and unwelcome in the academic school system. The leather-jacketed result can be attributed not to typical adolescent rebellion but in part to an unfortunate situation

¹Remmers and Radler, op. cit., 86-118.

²Eisenstadt, op. cit., 28 et passim.

where a small group of young people have no socially-approved role open to them.

There would appear to be as many varieties of youth culture as there are of American culture generally--differences occurring according to area, era, class, age, and idiosyncrasy of peer group. Perhaps the sine qua non, the chief shared attribute, is that their behaviour, although it may itself vary widely, differs a little from that of the adults with whom they are associated. Yet, most adolescent behaviour, including their speech, clothing and interests, is approved, abetted, at least tolerated by adults. Mothers and daughters, for example, discuss dating, and magazines written by adults advise teenagers about peer activity. Since adult norms pattern peer behaviour, the youth culture is but a variation on that of adults. Since each person is inducted into the culture by both his parental and peer groups, his norms will be largely a composite of theirs. His value-orientations will be partly Lineal, partly Collateral.

Individualism

It is rather remarkable that in the study by Remmers, referred to several pages previously, so few chose the third alternative, that of placing little importance on the opinions of peers or adults.¹ This perhaps indicates, although the wording of the third alternative renders this interpretation questionable, that the Individualistic orientation is not, for teenagers, particularly important. Remmers and Radler strengthen this conclusion by presenting from their polls other evidence that many teenagers feel it important to conform.²

¹Remmers and Radler, op. cit., 222-37.

²Ibid.

Summary

Since so much of the research has been concentrated on child-parent, adolescent-adult conflict, and in measuring the relative influences on the child of pressures from peers and parents, rather than on the development of Individualism, it is difficult to state with confidence much about the Individualistic value-orientation. It is suggested that teenagers do not particularly value Individualism. Yet, while much of the everyday bickering with parents has to do with peer-parent conflict, some of it seems to reflect a maturing Individualism. More importantly perhaps, teenage value-orientations are Collateral and Lineal.

Teenagers are in a subordinate position to adults, particularly to parents, teachers, clergymen, police. Moreover, it is because adults control and bear the responsibility for food, warmth, housing and other mundane matters that teenagers are a leisure class. To the extent that they would continue this relationship, and perhaps all but the oldest teenagers would retain some of it, they can be said to be Lineally-oriented. Intergenerational Lineality, the tendency to want parents and other adults to make the decisions or to offer advice, would seem to decrease steadily from childhood to adulthood, although perhaps never to disappear entirely.

Collaterality, the predominant value-orientation of peer groupings, perhaps like them begins with pre-school siblings and playmates, reaches a peak in early senior high school, and declines somewhat thereafter in favour of Bureaucratic Lineality and Individualism, although continuing to remain quite important.

III. THE TIME AND NATURE PROBLEMS

With respect to the Time and Nature problems, the teenager would appear very much like Americans generally. With fewer chances of having experienced death at close hand, and not having known global war or economic depression, one would expect a strong Mastery-over-Nature orientation. His subjection to the whims of parents, teachers and other adults, and his being economically dependent would, on the other hand, tend to evoke a Subject-to-Nature orientation. Similarly, while his hedonism makes him Present-oriented, he knows this is but temporary, that the future will see him infinitely better off financially, and gloriously free from subjection to adults. Yet this optimism will be restrained by knowing that he will have to work for a living, give up his pleasures and grow old. Although mostly Future-oriented, he is perhaps more Present-oriented than many Americans, and, since he has been less involved than older people with older ways of doing things, even less Past-oriented than they.

IV. SUMMARY

The value-orientations of the teenager are seen as being quite similar to those of the adults around him, but with his peer groups inducing variations. Even more than adults is the typical teenager oriented towards Being, but like them, chiefly towards Doing, particularly its narrow range status-striving aspects. He is dominantly Future-oriented, though with the Present important, and the Past orientation even more insignificant than for adults. He subscribes chiefly to the Mastery-over-Nature orientation but perhaps less so than adults. Like them, the Subject-to-Nature orientation becomes important when he sees himself in relation to the world outside him. His

Relational orientations seem more evenly divided than are adults', he being less Individualistic, more Collateral. While the adult tends to be Bureaucratically Lineal, the teenager seems more Intergenerationally Lineal.

Value-orientations of teenagers who, like farm children and those who attend small schools, participate less in the youth culture can perhaps be expected to resemble more closely those of the adults with whom they associate.

CHAPTER VI

NEWFOUNDLAND: TRADITIONAL AND EMERGENT VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

Major alterations in the way of life of the Newfoundland fishing community, or outport, have taken place during the past generation or so, especially since the beginning of the Second World War. As traditional outport culture melds with that of the larger American society, the value-orientations of the people can be expected to change away from those typical of peasant society toward those of urban society, particularly toward those dominant in America. Beginning with an anthropological and historical sketch of the traditional Newfoundland fishing village, the present chapter will survey recent economic, demographic, political and educational changes. Next, the impact of these changes on value-orientations generally will be assessed and at the same time the variables tending to modify people's reactions will be identified.

I. TRADITIONAL OUTPORT LIFE

Generally until recently, and not rarely even now, the Newfoundland outport exhibited many of the characteristics of folk society. It was small, homogeneous, largely inward-looking, rather self-sufficient, distinct both to the outside observer and to its inhabitants. Cut off except by sea from all but the nearest coves, the village revolved, from its origins in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth or early nineteenth century, about fishing.¹ Four factors tended to restrict habitation to the more desolate

¹Approximate dates of settlement of many Newfoundland communities are listed in J. R. Smallwood, editor, Newfoundland 1940: Handbook Gazeteer and Almanac (St. John's: Long Bros., 1940) especially pages 55-128. Settle-

parts of the coast--the nature of the fishery, the illegality until the nineteenth century of permanent settlement, a law that gave the captain of the first English ship to arrive in any cove each spring absolute power for the fishing season, and raids by the French.¹ Irish Catholics tended to settle in regions of the coast or sides of the harbour not inhabited by the English,² but the churches generally came later, much later, to these outharbours, usually after the large influx of people into Newfoundland in the first half of the nineteenth century. Schools established in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, chiefly by religious societies, had passed virtually completely into the hands of the three main sects--Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Wesleyan, by 1843.

For the next one hundred years, Newfoundland outport society appears to have become anchored not only to the fishery but increasingly to the

ment along the West, Southwest and Northwest coasts was generally much later than that along the East coast. For instances, see W. E. Cormack's description of a trip from St. George's Harbour to Fortune Bay, (Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822, F. A. Bruton, editor, London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1928).

¹For an historical account see, for example, Rev. M. Harvey, A Short History of Newfoundland (London: William Collan & Co. Limited, 1890), 66ff.

²Most of the English, whose descendants today form two-thirds of the total population, came from Southwest England--chiefly Devon, Dorset, Cornwall--an area forming part of the "Wessex" of Thomas Hardy. One is struck by how aptly Hardy's description of the Wessex peasant's outlook, habitat and annual round depict those of the inhabitant of some Newfoundland outports, who, after all, is occupied with the fishery about half the year, gardening at the same time. For the other months he may be a gatherer of berries and firewood, a part-time pastoralist, and, particularly along the northern coasts both East and West, a hunter of birds and seals. At least a quarter of the people are of Irish ancestry, while the forebears of most of the remainder were from the Channel Islands, with a few from Wales.

church and, to a much lesser extent, the church school.

During the short fishing season, the whole family worked usually as a patriarchal unit, the males catching, splitting and cleaning cod, with the females spreading it, curing it, preparing it for market. Vegetables, especially potatoes, grown usually in a poor soil, sheep, cattle, goats, chickens kept wherever possible, a plentiful supply of wild berries, seabirds and, in some areas, rabbits, augmented the diet.¹ Nearby, there was usually an ample supply of wood for fuel and building. The surplus dried fish was collected by the local merchant, shipped to the capital for export in exchange for flour, molasses, rum, sugar, tea, rope and twine, which were brought back in the merchant's schooner every fall. Almost all trading was on credit with the fisherman very often in a perpetual state of debt. The merchant--a native--and the clergyman--an outsider--in providing the essential links with the outside, were the local power structure, each in his own sphere generally supreme. In the few towns large enough to support them flourished a merchant aristocracy, an elite, whose children were apt to be educated in England.

Few Newfoundlanders had ever travelled beyond the neighbouring villages. Some, particularly women, never left their own settlement. There were exceptions, notably the crew making the annual voyage to St. John's with fish for supplies. Many people, including women and children, from settlements along the East and Northeast coast went by vessel, and

¹Terrain, geology and climate have tended to limit agricultural development in Newfoundland. See Griffith Taylor, Newfoundland (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1946).

later sometimes by railway coastal boat, to fish during the summer in Labrador. While this occasioned some intermingling and a partial breakdown of the peasant community, people from the same settlement often tended to stay together, and to fish every year from the same Labrador cove.¹ Also, some of the merchants in the larger settlements had direct contact, usually by means of their own ships, with England and other foreign markets--the United States, the West Indies, the Mediterranean. Along the Southwest coast, trade was with Halifax, Sydney, or New England ports, and not exclusively with St. John's.² Yet few people were involved with shipping. Emigration to the New England states--particularly the city of Boston--and to a lesser extent the Maritimes and central Canada has been constant, becoming in hard times a steady stream. However, one must not underestimate the isolation of the outport. Apart from perhaps a visiting clergyman, the only outsiders living there were a few married women and servant girls formerly from the next cove. To this day, people living in adjacent settlements can be distinguished by their accent or dialect.

In the cove everyone but the clergyman, and perhaps the teacher, was related by marriage or consanguinity, or both, to everyone else. Old-timers today pride themselves on being able to trace their relationships to all in the community. The middle-aged and the old are still "aunt" and "uncle" to all those of a younger generation. Age, generally, was respected, children seen, but seldom heard, in the presence of their elders.

Apart from merchant, clergyman, teacher, and some people's being better at some things than others were, there was in the fishing village little

¹A detailed, vivid and realistic account of the Labrador fishery is the remarkable autobiography of a fisherman and planter Nicholas Smith (Fifty-two Years at the Labrador Fishery, London: Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 1936).

²C. R. Fay, Life and Labour in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

division of labour beyond that of sex and age. It was considered a good thing for a man to be "able to turn his hand to anything" from building a boat, house or furniture, to knitting a cod-trap, fashioning oars, sailing a vessel, or forecasting the weather.¹ Even today in all but the most industrialized areas, the master of all trades is the social ideal. Similarly, the good woman was one who besides helping her husband with curing the cod-fish could look after the animals, cook, spin, knit her family's socks, sweaters and "cuffs" (mittens), hook mats, and perhaps help her neighbour in childbirth. Where the new order prevails, the ideal wife tends to stay in the house and rear the children. Even today it is considered a good thing for a woman to make her own bread. Homogeneity rather than specialization characterized the outport.

Winters, although the details varied from place to place, were gay with weddings, parties, dances, revivals, wakes, traditional songs, sagas, laments, accordion music, rum and cards.² People were poor, friendly, hardy, generous, addicted to pranks but very co-operative in the essentials of launching and hauling up boats, floating houses, hunting for seals and seabirds, hauling traps, building school and church with free labour. The awful toll in human life taken by the sea, illness, the annual seal hunt, is a reason that religion--often a contentious issue involving much bigotry,³

¹The versatility of the Newfoundlander has been noted by Lord Ammon in Newfoundland The Forgotten Island (London: Fabian Publications Ltd., 1944).

²See Bonnycastle's account of winter-time social activities in the St. John's of a century and a quarter ago--Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Newfoundland in 1842, Volume II (London: Henry Colburn, 1842), especially chapter twelve.

³Concerning the intolerance and religious bigotry prevalent particularly in the nineteenth century, Pedley (Rev. Charles A. Pedley, The History of Newfoundland, London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863)

--eternal life, and the Church form, with the fishery, the fabric of the traditional Newfoundland outport.

Newfoundland outports were closely integrated. Over the years each had become a community with inhabitants joined by things they shared in common--ancestry, religion, occupation, activity generally. The newer industrial settlements, conglomerates of people, still lack the cohesion of the outports, and because of modernization are unlikely to achieve it. The Auburn of Oliver Goldsmith--before its depopulation--rather than Sinclair Lewis's Gopher Prairie depicts the traditional outport. The essential difference in the gossiping carried on in both types of settlement is that in the outport the bonds between people are strong. They care.

What has been sketched above approaches very closely Redfield's model of peasant society with its threefold economic, political and moral-intellectual links with the larger society.

II. MODERNIZATION

While the beginnings of modernization can be seen in the opening of copper and iron mines in the 1890's, the trans-insular railway in 1899, a paper mill in 1909, another in 1923, the establishment of radio stations and regular mail service, it was not until World War II that the pattern of life of the Newfoundland outport was thrown into close contact with that of the larger Western culture.¹ With the war came the United States military bases

recounts among many instances how one gentleman of the press was waylaid and his ears sliced off by persons, still unknown, who apparently disapproved of his partisan stand in the interdenominational struggle for political power.

¹See G. S. Watts, "The Impact of the War," Newfoundland, R. A. MacKay, editor (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 219-30; and other articles in the same volume.

with construction jobs for all who wanted them. Service men returning from overseas wanted no complete return to the fishery and the old ways of a harsh material existence, especially since expensive fishing gear had deteriorated during the years of disuse. After the war, work on the bases--both construction and maintenance--continued. Plants to process fish fresh were built. Confederation with Canada in 1949 brought increased old-age allowances, sixteen-year pensions for having children, and, wonder of all wonders, a scheme whereby one could work six months, quit, and keep on receiving more money than he had ever earned before--unemployment insurance, generally referred to as "unemployment." The new government spent the surplus hoarded during the war years in establishing small factories. Labrador iron began to boom, the border separating Newfoundland from Canada was gone, and work seemed always to be available in Toronto. A new era was dawning.

Noteworthy among the changes were the almost complete switch to a cash income, the virtual destruction of the power of the fish merchants, the emergence of a newly-rich, powerful group in the construction industry, the employment of men away from their families, and sometimes the movement of families or even whole communities from isolated coves to more accessible locations. Today roads, hospitals and schools are being built on a large scale, and increasingly more villages served with electricity. Television covers most of the island and part of Labrador. The powerful emerging themes are modernization, hope, prosperity.

But the village remains, and is likely to remain. To some extent it functions as a dormitory with a preponderance of children and old people, although the fishery with 20,000 fishermen is still the biggest single user

of manpower.¹ A middle class is emerging in the villages but especially in the towns where specialization by occupation is taking place. Two-thirds of the high school pupils attend centralizations. The emphasis on education has, if anything, increased the power of the churches, with each of five denominations operating for its members, albeit with significant and slowly increasing inter-denominational co-operation and a curriculum largely common, a separate set of schools and teachers.

Communities are becoming less distinct, less isolated, more inter-dependent. Fundamental changes are making the Newfoundland outport less like peasant society and blending it, although as yet by no means completely, into the general North American cultural landscape.²

III. CHANGING VALUE-ORIENTATIONS

This section will attempt to delineate the dominant and variant value-orientations of the traditional Newfoundland outport and with them compare emerging orientations. Inter-group differences in value-orientations and the variables affecting them will also be examined. A word of caution is in order, for, although available references have been consulted, and although the writer has been steeped in a mixture of the traditional and emerging ways of life in a number of these communities, no previous attempt has been made to identify empirically either traditional or emerging value-orientations in the Newfoundland setting.

¹The Daily News, December 31, 1963.

²For an interesting and well-informed account of the emerging Newfoundland see A. B. Perlin's The Story of Newfoundland (St. John's, 1959).

The Man-Nature Problem

Newfoundland society appears to be changing from a Subject-to-Nature value-orientation to a Mastery-over-Nature orientation.

Subject-to-Nature. As traditionally carried on, the cod fishery was a dangerous, uncertain occupation. A collapse in the international dried cod market or a prolonged period without sunshine often meant serious loss. Not only might the cod themselves be scarce but so might the caplin, herring and squid used, at different times in the season, to catch them. Storms could wreck gear or keep boats bottled up in the cove during the height of the season. Drownings were frequent, and many lives were lost in fog, ice, storms. The isolation of the villages often meant that medical care was unavailable. Epidemics sometimes raged unchecked, tuberculosis was a rampant killer. The possibility of sickness or death, and the probability of hard times were omnipresent.

The Newfoundlander was at the mercy of the elements and, what was even more to the point, was aware that things he could not control controlled him. "Trust and obey," "God will take care of you," ran some of the favourite hymns. "Eternal Father, strong to save, / Whose arm hath bound the restless wave, / . . . O, hear us when we cry to Thee / For those in peril on the sea."

This same theme is carried in many of the island's folk songs. Some deal with hard times generally, as for example the traditional ballad whose refrain is "For it's hard, hard times." Other "wonderful sad songs" treat of disaster at sea--the ballad "The Spanish Captain," or John Grace's "Petty Harbour Bait Skiff,"--or of tragedy at the seal fishery--Lizzie C. Rose's

"Southern Cross."¹

Similarly, several of the poems of the late E. J. Pratt, particularly "The Ice Floes," "The Lee Shore," "Newfoundland Seamen," "The Toll of the Bells " and "Erosion" convey this feeling of man's being subject to the changing mood of nature.² The first of these depicts how sixty men perished in a blizzard while hunting seals from a steamer amidst the ice off the Northeast coast. It concludes:

And the rest is as a story told,
Or a dream that belonged to a dim, mad past,
Of a March night and a north wind's cold,
Of a voyage home with a flag half-mast;
Of twenty thousand seals that were killed
To help to lower the price of bread;
Of the muffled beat. . . of a drum. . . that filled
A nave. . . at our count of sixty dead.³

"Erosion," a short poem, is one of Pratt's best sketches:

It took the sea a thousand years,
A thousand years to trace
The granite features of this cliff,
In crag and scarp and base.

It took the sea an hour one night
An hour of storm to place
The sculpture of these⁴ granite seams
Upon a woman's face.

¹The words and music to a great many of these folk songs were collected in three editions by the late Gerald S. Doyle. See Gerald S. Doyle, editor, Old Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland (second edition; St. John's: Gerald S. Doyle Ltd., 1940). Various local and foreign artists have made gramophone recordings. Among the better renditions--none of them seem wholly satisfying--are those of Omar Blondahl who has recorded on Rodeo L.P.'s 5, 7 and 34 (distributed in Canada by London Records of Canada, Ltd.) many of these ballads and sea songs, including those mentioned above.

²E. J. Pratt, The Collected Poems of E. J. Pratt (second edition; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1958).

³Ibid., 19-23.

⁴Ibid., 37.

Mastery-over-Nature. In recent years few Newfoundland sealing vessels have gone to the ice. Most Newfoundlanders are employed not in catching fish but in the new industries of pulp and paper, logging, mining, construction and manufacturing, which depend little on the weather. Confederation with Canada has greatly stabilized foreign trade; health and social welfare programs have alleviated the harshness of hard times.

Whereas formerly many tended to accept sickness as God's Will, and the time of one's death as decreed, today--and this indicates a belief in man's ever-increasing mastery over nature--Newfoundlanders, like people in Western society generally, are coming to regard doctors, not as harbingers of death, but as man's controls over it. The trend for the dead to be prepared for burial by undertakers, rather than, as custom had it, by neighbours or members of the family, is perhaps tending to lessen the humbling influence of death.

Today, fishermen's children are securing education, entering professions, and, with increasing rapidity, people are coming to believe that they can improve whatever their "lot" might seem to be. The mood of the province, as reflected in Newfoundland mass media, government and education, is progress, enthusiasm, optimism.¹

Harmony-with-Nature. Many Newfoundlanders appear to have held to some extent a Harmony-with-Nature orientation. One's garden should be cultivated, the fishery prosecuted, the hay and the potatoes not left to

¹For example, the end-of-the-year edition (December 31, 1963) of The Daily News, a St. John's paper, is a paean to progress!

rot, even though economically feasible.¹ Although partly prudential, resulting from the economic importance of these activities, the historical legal difficulties of securing room along the shore to prosecute the fishery and, in some areas, from the hardship of clearing rocks or carrying soil to make gardens, the emphasis on never letting land go out of the family, also reflects this orientation. So does distaste for emigration. So does the frequently held belief that when people live properly, things turn out better.

With migration into the industrial areas, the working away from home by many men, and sometimes the consequent neglect of property, the number holding the Harmony-with-Nature orientation and the strength with which it is held would seem to be declining in favour of the Mastery-over-Nature orientation. A selection factor may also be at work here, with those emigrating or working away holding most strongly the Mastery-over-Nature orientation, and, indeed, the other value-orientations of industrial society, while those remaining in the village hold different orientations.

The Activity Problem

The economic importance of hard physical toil during the fishing season implies a Doing value-orientation. A good man was a hard worker, not only during the fishing season, but in preparing nets, building boats, providing wood for fuel, and generally being, not lazy, but a good provider. In winter, Doing gave way in part to Being, and the good man, or woman, made the appropriate adjustments to behaviour.

¹ Thus, men working in the lumberwoods or on the bases often quit high-paying jobs to go home to make a few dollars worth of hay, dig or plant potatoes, or cut firewood. These attitudes have often persisted even after the activities themselves have ceased to be economically important. To some extent then the Harmony-with-Nature orientation seems residual.

While the shortage of relevant material makes it difficult to assess the extent of the status struggle, it is suggested that for most people this was not particularly important. The usual small outport had two, perhaps three, fairly clearly distinguishable strata--the "shareman," the merchant and the "planter." The merchant was usually the most powerful man in the community. Sometimes there were more than one. He supplied fishing gear and other supplies on credit and received the fish caught as payment. Any balance he owed was usually taken up in trade goods or left for next year's supplies. The "planter" owned a vessel and the gear. He operated on credit from a merchant and had men working with him who divided half the catch among them, the vessel owner retaining the other half. In later years when there were traps, the trap-owner operated in a similar fashion. Lowest on the scale was the shareman.¹

Some fishermen were neither sharemen nor planters but fished independently dealing directly with the merchant. Some planters dealt directly with St. John's merchants. In addition, particularly in the larger settlements, and even from the very early days, the larger merchants had wage-earning servants or employees. Some of these were highly-skilled carpenters, boat-builders, office workers, masters of vessels. Later there were independent craftsmen and tradesmen. Perhaps it is from these groups of independent fishermen and craftsmen, planters and highly-skilled employees that the later middle classes--the teacher, the clergyman, the civil servant -- chiefly emerged. Whatever status struggle there was seems to have been strongest in this intermediate class.

¹Further details of these and related arrangements are contained in the book by Fay mentioned previously. He quotes the correspondence of Governor Hamilton contained in the Colonial Office Records of 1820. Also, see Smith, op. cit., and Joseph Hatton and the Rev. M. Harvey's Newfoundland (revised edition; Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1883, chapter eight).

Since many fishermen were in a perpetual state of debt, only those who were exceptionally fortunate had much hope of advancing to owning their own vessel or trap, or becoming a merchant. This, plus the precarious nature of the fishery, the often brought-home fact that the elements could destroy man's hard work, tended to strengthen the Being, weaken the Doing orientation.

Perhaps, too, the continuous contact with the sea, the wind and danger, coupled with the long periods of inactivity, made at least some people highly contemplative, highly speculative about religion and life. Perhaps among some people Being-in-Becoming had some importance.

In very recent years, the emphasis upon achievement and the gaining of status seems to have increased greatly, particularly, but not exclusively, among those leaving the smaller communities for the larger towns. These emphasize getting on in the world, not dropping out of school to go fishing, but learning to speak English "correctly," to become "cultured" and not to enjoy traditional dances, after-services, and the other ways dear to the past. The schools, the mass media, and closer contacts with North American culture seem to have contributed to this trend.

The Time Problem

It is suggested that there is a greater and more widespread emphasis on the Future orientation with a corresponding decline in Present and Past orientations. That Newfoundland fishermen have been noted for their nearly always having some cash in reserve indicates, not a Future-orientation which implies hope for a brighter future, but fear of the future and a desire to maintain the present. Some, of course, did save and toil to improve their status and these can be said to have had a Future-orientation.

The Relational Problem

Traditionally in Newfoundland in most behaviour areas the Lineal value-orientation appears to have been quite strong, Collaterality frequent, and the Individualistic orientation, except in one or two behaviour areas, not significant. In emerging Newfoundland, Lineality although somewhat different in nature seems still quite strong, Individualism still not significant, Collaterality different from its former nature.

Lineality. Intergenerational Lineality used to be strong. The family tended to be patriarchal and extended. Sons usually fished, even after marriage, with their father. Land for a house, the fishing room with its stages and stores, the flakes, boats and nets were largely under his control. Family meant not only husband, wife and children, but aged parents, unmarried siblings of husband or wife, old uncles or aunts, sometimes other relatives, living in the same or, more usually, adjacent houses. One provided for one's aged parents and relatives. The old were treated with respect. There is a tendency in the modern family to find old folks "in the way" for they are a burden, whereas, in the outport, unless completely bedridden, many were the tasks such as child-rearing, cooking, and bringing water that they could perform well. Also, they knew the old ways, the skills, the folk tales, the family genealogy. In that generally illiterate community, to have grand-parents still living was a blessing. Today in North-American urban society, the emphasis is on children, no longer quiet and largely unseen. Rather, does all life revolve about them and their education. Although here and there the ancient values hold, the trend is observable for children in Newfoundland to dominate conversation, to be the center of each social situation.

Inter-estate Lineality was also strong, with the upper estate, consisting of merchant, clergyman, magistrate and perhaps the teacher, being looked up to and having great influence in the community. Although clergymen not meeting community norms, or trying to modify locally-traditional-if-unorthodox church procedure received short shift, most clergymen, particularly of the Roman Catholic and Church of England faiths, seem to have been very influential in a variety of matters. As church leader and chairman of the school board, the clergyman's formal authority extended, and extends, over pupils, teachers, board members, flock. Often he interceded, and still intercedes, with government officials to get roads repaired or assistance or jobs for people. Today, visiting politicians and other dignitaries deem it necessary to pay courtesy calls on him. Usually he, with the teacher, is still the chief intellectual link with the outside. Of course, the smaller settlements have no resident clergyman.

Traditionally too, the educated teacher held high prestige and, not infrequently, important influence. In areas fortunate enough to have them, and this rarely occurred except in recent years, doctors and magistrates were generally influential.

The merchant, unlike the usual teacher or clergyman, was, except for some merchants in St. John's who lived part of the time in England and perhaps retired there, a permanent resident and great was his power in fishery, politics and community affairs. Most fishermen were in debt to him and would so remain. He bought the fish, set his price and let the credit. Fishermen were dependent on him for supplies. Often was he the "king" of the community.

Another facet of this Lineal orientation was looking to the central government for all social services--relief, roads, education. There was,

outside St. John's, no local government until 1944. There were school boards, but apart from local free labour, the government paid virtually all expenses. It would seem that in the traditional outport Lineality was easily the dominant principle.

The Individualistic value-orientation. Yet the fisherman head-of-the-family was his own boss. He had no foreman standing over him, could not lose his job, had no set hours. Since there were no direct taxes, he could not lose his land or his house. In these few matters, at least, he was gloriously free, and strongly he valued his independence.¹

In the industrial town the Newfoundlander is not independent when on the job. He is subject to regulation by town council, school board, finance company, rather than dominated by merchant, clergyman or father. The difference is not more independence but anonymity and impersonality. The real distinction between traditional and emerging orientations seems to be not less Lineality but a different kind--Bureaucratic instead of Intergenerational and Inter-estate.

Collaterality. Co-operation among equals not necessarily of the same age was an important relationship in the fishing village in moving houses, hauling up or launching boats, building and repairing church and school. In modern life this relationship would seem altered in detail but still important, with today's emphasis on peer groups and the tendency of people to be intimate with those of their own age and station.

¹See T. Lodge, Dictatorship in Newfoundland (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1939), especially pages 53-54, for a discussion of the fisherman as entrepreneur.

IV. SUMMARY

The social changes taking place in Newfoundland are apparently being accompanied by changes in values, including value-orientations. Indications are that the Mastery-over-Nature orientation is replacing the Subject-to-Nature orientation especially among modernizing groups. The Harmony-with-Nature orientation also seems to be declining. The Future orientation seems generally more widespread now than formerly with declines apparent in Past and perhaps Present orientations. The nature of the Doing orientation seems to have changed with emphasis being placed by some groups on its status-striving aspects. Being and Being-in-Becoming are perhaps less important. As far as the Relational problem is concerned, Individualism may be increasing for those free of the fishing village and not working in large-scale organizations; Collaterality is perhaps remaining constant. Yet, it would appear that Lineality is still very strong although for many people Intergenerational and Inter-estate Lineality will perhaps have been in part replaced by the Lineality of the bureaucracy.

CHAPTER VII

RESEARCH DESIGN

After stating the hypotheses of the study, the present chapter describes the methods used to test them, including instrumentation, sample, and the collection, processing and analysis of data. The chapter will conclude with a description of the research performed to check the reliability of the value-orientation scales.

I. THE HYPOTHESES

The general hypothesis of this study is that the value-orientations of Newfoundland high school pupils will vary between those typical of peasant society and those typical of urban society according to the pupils' involvement and that of their communities, families and friends with the traditional fishing village and modern American urban society.

1. (Community Characteristics) The smaller the proportion of the inhabitants of a Newfoundland settlement engaged in the traditional fishery, the greater the industrialization, the stronger the transportation link with the outside, the larger the population, the less the influence of the denomination, the stronger the television coverage, and the stronger the form of municipal government, then (a) the more often will its high school pupils choose the Mastery-over-Nature value-orientation and the less often the Subject-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature orientations; (b) the more often will they choose Doing and the less often Being and Being-in-Becoming; (c) the more often Future and the less often Past and Present; and (d) the more often the Individualistic and the less often

the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal value-orientation.

2. (Family Characteristics) The less involved their families are in the traditional fishing village and the more in modern American urban society, as measured by parental occupation, education, vertical mobility, and travel, then (a) the more often will high school pupils choose the Mastery-over-Nature value-orientation and the less often the Subject-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature orientations; (b) the more often will they choose Doing and the less often Being and Being-in-Becoming; (c) the more often Future and the less often Past and Present; and (d) the more often the Individualistic and the less often the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal value-orientation.
3. (Personal Experience) The greater the personal involvement with modern life, that is, the greater the proportions of their lives spent in industrial areas, the more hours per week spent with the mass media, the less involvement with church activities, then (a) the more often will pupils choose the Mastery-over-Nature value-orientation and the less often the Subject-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature orientations; (b) the more often will they choose Doing and the less often Being and Being-in-Becoming; (c) the more often Future and the less often Past and Present; (d) the more often the Individualistic and the less often the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal value-orientation.
4. (Teenage Sub-culture) The larger their high school enrolment, the longer time spent informally or formally with their peers or listening to music on radio or records, then (a) the more often will pupils choose the Being value-orientation and the less often Doing; (b) the more often Present and the less often Past; and (c) the more often the Collateral and

the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal, and the less often the Individualistic value-orientation.

5. (Bureaucratic and Entrepreneurial Families) Where modern parental occupation is bureaucratic rather than entrepreneurial, then (a) the more often will middle-class high school pupils choose the Being value-orientation and the less often the Doing orientation; (b) the more often will they choose Present and the less often Future; and (c) the more often the Collateral and the Lineal, especially the Bureaucratic Lineal, and the less often the Individualistic value-orientation.

II. VALUE-ORIENTATIONS SCALES: THE CRITERION VARIABLES

In this and the following sections are described the instruments that make up the two questionnaires--the Student's Questionnaire and the Community Questionnaire. Copies of these questionnaires form Appendices A and B, respectively, while the underlying indices are in Appendix C. In this section the value-orientation scales will be discussed, in the next the indices for the independent or treatment variables.

The Value-Orientations Questionnaire

The Value-Orientations Questionnaire, as the major part of the Student's Questionnaire, consists of some thirty questions in several behaviour areas including the economy, leisure, inheritance, misfortune, philosophy, government, community projects, and religion. The seven or eight questions for each of the Man-Nature, Activity, Time and Relational problems, provide scores indicating the extent to which one value-orientation is preferred over another. Each question is a problematic situation to which there are three

alternatives, each a value-orientation, which the respondent must rank according to his preference. For example, as shown in Table II, a respondent's score on the M-S scale indicates the extent to which he prefers the Mastery-over-Nature orientation to the Subject-to-Nature orientation. This scale comprises seven problematic situations, each of which requires the respondent to choose between the Mastery-over-Nature alternative and the Subject-to-Nature alternative.¹ One of these situations is Item 4 of the Student's Questionnaire, which reads:

A certain man is becoming quite well off (prosperous). People are looking at this in different ways.

- A. Some people say that his prosperity is probably due to his own efforts and his knowledge of new ideas.
- B. Some people say that his prosperity is probably because he is a good upright man who lives and works in the right and proper ways.
- C. Some people say that his prosperity is probably due mostly to good luck. After all, a man doesn't have much control over what happens to him.

If the respondent prefers A, the Mastery alternative, to C, the Subject alternative, his score is 1, if not, 0. With seven such choices his M-S score can range from zero to seven. These same seven situations yield an M-H score (number of times Mastery is preferred over Harmony) and an S-H score (Subject-to-Nature preferred over Harmony-with-Nature). The remaining twenty-three situations on the Value-Orientations Questionnaire yield scores for other scales. There are, as indicated in Table II, twelve

¹ Kluckhohn calls these scales, "dimensions," but, like the present study, treats the resulting scores as interval data, using one-way analysis of variance and related statistical procedures. See Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961), 135-37.

TABLE II

SCALES FOR WHICH THE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE YIELDS SCORES

Name of Scale	Meaning of Scale: Respondent's Preference for One Alternative or Value-Orientations over Another	Possible Range of Scores ^a	Items, Comprising Scale ^b
M-S	Mastery-over-Nature preferred over Subject-to-Nature	0-7	4, 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 30
M-H	Mastery-over-Nature preferred over Harmony-with-Nature	0-7	4, 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 30
S-H	Subject-to-Nature preferred over Harmony-with-Nature	0-7	4, 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 30
D-B	Doing preferred over Being	0-8	1, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 28
D-BB	Doing preferred over Being-in-Becoming	0-8	1, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 28
B-BB	Being preferred over Being-in-Becoming	0-8	1, 7, 12, 14, 17, 19, 20, 28
F-P	Future preferred over Past	0-7	2, 9, 11, 13, 22, 23, 29
F-Pr	Future preferred over Present	0-7	2, 9, 11, 13, 22, 23, 29
Pr-P	Present preferred over Past	0-7	2, 9, 11, 13, 22, 23, 29
I-L	Individualism preferred over Lineality	0-8	3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 24, 27
I-C	Individualism preferred over Collaterality	0-8	3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 24, 27
C-L	Collaterality preferred over Lineality	0-8	3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15, 24, 27
Mi-S	Mastery-over-Nature (aspects referring to an individual) preferred over Subject-to-Nature	0-4	4, 18, 21, 26
Mm-S	Mastery-over-Nature (aspects referring to mankind in general) preferred over Subject-to-Nature	0-3	16, 25, 30
Ds-B	Doing (striving aspect) preferred over Being	0-2	14, 19
I-Lg	Individualism preferred over Intergenerational Lineality	0-5	3, 5, 6, 8, 15
I-Lb	Individualism preferred over Bureaucratic Lineality	0-3	10, 24, 27

Notes: ^aA respondent's score on any scale is the total number of items on which he chooses the one orientation over the other.

^bThese numerals identify the items on the Student's Questionnaire in Appendix A.

scales, three for each of the four basic problems. There are, in addition, five sub-scales: one for the striving aspect of the D-B scale, two for the dominance of Individualism over the Bureaucratic and Intergenerational aspects of Lineality, and two dividing the M-S scale into the aspects of individual Mastery and mankind's Mastery. Each question can itself be considered a sub-scale for a behaviour area. However, the present report will be considering chiefly those value-orientations mentioned in the hypotheses.

The instrument is largely an adaptation of the schedule devised by Florence Kluckhohn, and administered orally by her and her associates to five cultural groups in New Mexico.¹ To measure intracultural rather than intercultural differences, the number of items has been increased from twenty-two to thirty; to use with grade nine pupils as a written questionnaire the wording has been simplified and shortened. Modification in wording has also been made for a fishing rather than an agricultural society.

Modifying the Kluckhohn Scales

As indicated in Tables III to VI, of the thirty value-orientation questions on the Student's Questionnaire, eighteen are modifications of the items developed by Kluckhohn. (Five of her items could not be adapted and were not used.) Of the Man-Nature series of seven questions, all five of Kluckhohn's items were adapted, while two of three completely original items were used. Two items were added to five adapted Kluckhohn items to form the Time series. For the Relational series, only four of Kluckhohn's seven items could be used even with adaptation. Four of five new items were

¹Ibid.

TABLE III

ORIGIN OF THE MAN-NATURE ITEMS ON THE
STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Kluckhohn's Number ^a	Changes	Pilot Project Number	Changes	Student's Questionnaire Number
(a) Those Dealing with the Individual				
4	Minor-local adaptation from pastoral to fishing economy	30	None	26
10	Minor--local adaptation	24	Fluency of introduction improved	21
--	New item	4	Simplified, especially vocabulary	4
--	New item	21	"Three of his friends" changed to "Three other pupils"	18
--	New item	8	Dropped; discrimination poor	--
(b) Those Dealing with Mankind in General				
6	Minor--local adaptation	18	Slight--fluency	16
13	Minor--fluency and vocabulary	28	Minor--fluency and vocabulary	25
19	Minor--fluency	34	Minor--clarity	30

^aKluckhohn and Stodtbeck, op. cit., 80-90.

TABLE IV

ORIGIN OF THE ACTIVITY ITEMS ON THE
STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Kluckhohn's Number ^a	Changes	Pilot Project Number	Changes	Student's Questionnaire Number
(a) General				
1	Dropped; unable to create alternative for Being-in-Becoming (BB)	--		--
15	Almost a completely new item--hard to create BB alternative	7	Minor--vocabulary simplified; clarity	7
18	From "farmers" to "shopkeepers"; BB alternative added	20	Minor--vocabularyly simplified; fluency	17
21	Greatly adapted from "housework" to "working as club-member"; BB added	23	Minor--vocabulary; fluency	20
22	Minor adaptations to Newfoundland--from "singing" to "chatting"; BB added	1	Minor--clarity	1
--	New item	13	Minor--vocabulary; third alternative reworded for clarity	12
--	New item	32	Minor--vocabulary	28
(b) Striving Aspects of Doing				
--	New item	19	Dropped; least useful item dropped to shorten questionnaire	--
--	New item	16	Slight--clarity	14
--	New item	22	Slight--clarity	19

^a Ibid.

TABLE V

ORIGIN OF THE TIME ITEMS ON THE
STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Kluckhohn's Number ^a	Changes	Pilot Project Number	Changes	Student's Questionnaire Number
3	Minor--fluency	14	Minor--fluency	13
5	(a) Minor--clarity	15	Dropped; answers virtually identical with 12 (Kluckhohn 5b)	--
5	(b) Minor--clarity, fluency	12	None	11
11	Minor--fluency	10	None	9
14	Minor--local adaptations	26	"Just" omitted from last sentence	23
20	Local adaptation: from "water" to "work"	25	Minor--fluency	22
--	New item	2	None	2
--	New item	33	Minor--fluency; grammar	29

^a Ibid.

TABLE VI

ORIGIN OF THE RELATIONAL ITEMS ON THE
STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Kluckhohn's Number ^a	Changes	Pilot Project Number	Changes	Student's Questionnaire Number
(a) Intergenerational Lineality				
2	Local adaptation: from "Community well arrangements" to "Disposal of group money"	5	Minor--clarity; simplicity	5
7	Local adaptations re nature of misfortunes	9	Vocabulary simplified; alternatives clarified by examples	8
8	Dropped--difficult to adapt	--		--
9	Dropped--difficult to adapt	--		--
16	Dropped--difficult to adapt	--		--
17	Minor--local adaptation	6	Minor--clarity; vocabulary made consistent	6
--	New item	29	Dropped; poor discrimination, far-fetched analogy; answers seemed random	--
--	New item	3	Minor--reworded for clarity	3
--	New item	17	"Grandmother's illness" changed to "Grandmother's birthday" to make alternatives comparable; vocabulary	15
(b) Bureaucratic Lineality				
12	Minor--local adaptation	31	Clerical error in pilot project changed to Kluckhohn's wording, i.e. "other" to "many"	27
--	New item	11	None	10
--	New item	27	None	24

^a Ibid.

retained. For the Activity series, since Kluckhohn had not developed a Being-in-Becoming alternative, these had to be composed for the four of her five items that could be used. Five new items were created--three for the Striving aspects of the Doing value-orientation. Four of these were retained after the preliminary or "pilot" studies.

The Pilot Studies

To see whether the items were suitable for grade nine pupils, two pilot studies were conducted. On March 6, 1964, the preliminary edition of the Student's Questionnaire was administered to a heterogeneous class of twenty-five grade nine pupils in Calmar, Alberta. Some of these were town-dwellers, others farm children. In addition, on March 4, a class of thirty first-year Education students at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, completed the value-orientation section of that questionnaire, and were requested to identify and perhaps comment upon items that were obscure or difficult to answer. Returns were scrutinized carefully, items were analyzed for their power to discriminate between high-scorers and low-scorers on the various scales, and comparisons between the students in university and junior high school were interpreted. As a result, the four least useful of the thirty-four value-orientation items were dropped and a number of others simplified and clarified. In addition, the Calmar pilot study prompted changes in those sections of the Student's Questionnaire requesting personal data. For example, a question asking the size of family income was omitted, since the answers that pupils supplied to this question were generally highly inaccurate.

Validity and Reliability of the Value-Orientation Scales

The New Mexico research, in yielding scores in the manner predicted

by Kluckhohn, indicates her interview schedule to have substantial validity for measuring intercultural value-orientations. McArthur's research, although he did not use the instrument itself, points up the usefulness of the rationale in distinguishing between upper and middle classes.¹ Examination of the contents of the adapted instrument perhaps indicates it to possess much of the validity of the original. Hitherto, no tests specifically to determine validity or reliability of either the original or the adapted instrument had been performed. Later--in Section VIII of the present chapter--there will be described a test-retest reliability check conducted as part of the present study.

III. INSTRUMENTS TO MEASURE TREATMENT VARIABLES

In this section are described briefly the instruments used to obtain scores on the independent or treatment variables.² These instruments are considered in five groups each related to one of the hypotheses of the study.

1. Indices of a community's position along peasant-urban continua. (H₁)
2. Indices of a family's involvement in peasant or urban society. (H₂)
3. Indices of a pupil's personal experiences. (H₃)
4. Indices of a pupil's involvement in the teenage sub-culture. (H₄)
5. Index of the entrepreneurial-bureaucratic nature of father's occupation (H₅)

Indices of a Community's Position along Peasant-Urban Continua (H₁)

To test whether the value-orientations of pupils vary in the predicted

¹Charles McArthur, "Personality Differences between Middle and Upper Classes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 50 (March, 1955), 247-54.

²The instruments are detailed in Appendix C.

direction according to the degree to which their communities are peasant or urban, a number of peasant-urban indices, after Redfield's model, were constructed.¹ These indices are set forth in Appendix C. Information about the communities was obtained from census data, from various departments of the Newfoundland government, and from the Community Questionnaire directed to the principals of the schools.

First, communities are classified according to population. Secondly, an ordinal measure places a community into one of five categories according to the proportion of the inhabitants engaged in fishing, the traditional occupation. The third index is a similar five-point ordinal measure used to classify communities according to the extent to which men are occupied at the fishery or employed in modern industry. A fourth orders communities according to their isolation, the strength of their transportation link with the outside. Communities range from those on highroads open all year round to those with no roads, no railway and no coastal boat service. Another index orders communities according to strength of television coverage. A sixth index orders communities according to the form of municipal government: those with city, town or rural district councils; those where there is only the weaker community council or local improvement district; and those which are unincorporated. A seventh index, a measure of religious homogeneity, categorizes communities according to the percentage of inhabitants who are Anglican. The eighth index is a nominal classification of communities according to region, to see whether differences in value-orientations follow regional lines.

¹See Chapter III of this report for Redfield's model.

Indices of a Family's Involvement in Peasant or Urban Society (H₂)

To test whether pupils' value-orientations vary according to their family's involvement in the traditional fishing community, fourteen indices were constructed. The data needed came largely from the questionnaires completed by the pupils. Three indices deal with father's occupation. The first divides pupils into eleven groups, with occupational categories ranging from "fisherman not otherwise employed" to the urban professional and managerial classes. The second divides pupils whose fathers are superordinates from those whose fathers are not. The third enables comparisons to be made between pupils whose fathers are occupied as usual and those whose fathers are sick, unemployed or not living. A fourth index was designed to see whether pupils' values are related to "Parental Mobility"--the extent to which fathers' occupations are more urban or less urban than grandfathers'. Two indices measure parental education. Seven measure parental travel--working on U.S. bases, war service overseas, working outside the community, reared outside the present community. The fourteenth index classifies mothers according to their occupation before marriage.

Indices of Pupil's Personal Experiences (H₃)

Another eight indices were constructed to measure the extent of a pupil's involvement in urban life. The first divided pupils into seven categories according to whether their previous residence was more or less urban than their present community. Four indices measure the hours per week exposed to the mass media--television, radio, movies, newspapers and magazines. Three measures indicate the extent of church involvement--hours per week attending church services, hours per week of activity in church sponsored youth groups, and whether the pupil usually attends Sunday school.

Indices of Pupil Involvement in the Teenage Sub-culture (H_4)

Nine indices, mostly ordinal, were devised to indicate the extent of a pupil's involvement with the teenage sub-culture. The first three indicate the size of the peer group which the school provides--enrolment in grade nine, enrolment in grades nine to eleven, and kind of school. Others indicate the pupil's involvement in local peer groups--hours per week at extra-curricular activities, hours per week with youth groups, evenings per week out with peers, frequency of dating, and whether the pupil attends church with peers or parents. The ninth--hours per week listening to teenage music--indicates involvement in the wider and general teenage sub-culture.

Index of Entrepreneurial-Bureaucratic Nature of Father's Occupation (H_5)

To test whether some value-orientations vary according to the extent of paternal involvement in bureaucracy, an eleven-category occupational index was devised. Occupation ranged from entrepreneurs, through those in partnership and those working for others but not in large-scale organizations, to those employed in bureaucracies.

The Validity of These Indices

No claim for much other than face validity can be made at present for any of the above indices. They seem to fit the theory developed in previous chapters. Should the research hypotheses be borne out, the construct validity of these indices will have been substantiated.

IV. THE COLLECTION OF DATA

On March 31, 1964, permission having been received from the Anglican Superintendent of Education, packages were mailed to the principals of all

Anglican schools in Newfoundland listed as having grade nine pupils.¹ Appendix E lists the schools, the grade nine pupils enrolled as at September 30, 1963, and the number of returns. Each package contained a Student's Questionnaire for each pupil (with spare copies), a number of copies of the Community Questionnaire to be completed by the principal--one for each settlement represented by grade nine pupils,--an explanatory letter to the principal, one or more copies of the procedure to be followed, and return envelopes.²

Since it was already late in the school year, the investigator, desiring a high percentage of returns, spent two weeks in Newfoundland in early May visiting by automobile schools whose returns had not yet been received. Over forty schools were visited. Some principals had already mailed in their returns, some had not yet received supplies. Others, particularly regional and central schools, had been busy with work from other investigators. Still others who, having lost up to ten days of school through heavy snowfalls, had been reluctant to participate, agreed to do so upon realizing the importance of the project. It would seem that this personal contact with these principals helped considerably, since of the schools visited in only three cases were returns not forthcoming.

Appendices H and I contain the follow-up letters that on April 30 and May 28 were sent to all the schools from whom returns had not been received. Individually-worded letters were also dispatched to several schools. These and the May 28 circular included the special instructions set forth as Appendix K, and designed to obviate the probing that will be discussed below.

¹The letter from Mr. Roy L. Dawe, Superintendent of Education (Anglican), granting permission to contact the principals of Anglican schools, is set forth as Appendix D. The list of schools was supplied through the courtesy of Mr. Cecil Roebathan, Assistant Superintendent of Education (Anglican).

²The letter to principals and the procedure to be followed are set forth as Appendix F and Appendix G, respectively.

Considered by the investigator as being especially helpful was the timely report of the study which appeared in the May issue of the N.T.A. Journal.¹

Probes

As questionnaires were returned, it became obvious that many pupils were not providing all the information necessary for certain important analyses, particularly those questions having to do with the occupation and work experience of parents or grandparents. Therefore, immediately the returns from a school were received, they were scrutinized, and, for every pupil with one or more questions unanswered in sufficient detail, probing questions phrased. These were sent to the principal with a request that he administer and return them to us. This request usually formed part of the letter of thanks sent to every principal to acknowledge receipt of the original returns.² The envelope contained, in addition, stamps to replace these used by the principal, and stamped addressed envelopes for the return of the probes. This procedure of sending out probes was continued right up till the last day of school, special delivery being employed in some instances.

In all, 1946 probes were sent out and 1505 returned completely or partially answered.

V. THE SAMPLE

The sample was to consist of the approximately 2500 grade nine pupils attending, in numbers ranging from one to 140, the 177 Anglican schools in Newfoundland offering grade nine in September, 1963. Since several of

¹Courtesy of Mr. N. R. Wight, secretary of the Newfoundland Teachers' Association and editor of the N.T.A. Journal.

²Appendix E lists the number of probes sent to each school and the

these schools are centralizations, at least 250 Newfoundland communities were to be sampled. Anglican schools range widely throughout the province and would appear fairly representative of the various types of community.

It must be pointed out, however, that not all pupils in grade nine in Anglican schools are Anglican, although the vast majority are. Also, a substantial proportion of grade nine Anglican pupils do not attend Anglican schools. In several of the industrial settlements, including the paper towns of Corner Brook and Grand Falls, they attend amalgamated schools jointly operated by several denominations. In other instances, much less numerically significant, they attend schools of other denominations.

Received in time for analysis were 2132 returns from 168 schools. There were in April, 1964, some 2554 grade nine pupils attending some 175 Anglican schools.¹ Thus, returns were received from 96 per cent of the schools, 85 per cent of the pupils.

Of the approximately 420 pupils from whom no returns were received in time for analysis, some 160 were in St. John's schools, 54 from other non-replying schools--Round Harbour 2, Cook's Harbour 8, Harbour Breton 8, Fogo 19, and Princeton 17.² The remainder, from a perusal of Appendix E, seem to be distributed at the rate of about 10 per cent among a wide range of schools and would appear to represent chiefly those pupils who were absent when the questionnaire was administered.³ The latter non-respondents, perhaps representing

returns received. Appendix J is a copy of the form letter of thanks which was often very much modified.

¹Personal letter from Mr. C. Roebathan, Assistant Superintendent of Education (Anglican).

²Fogo returns were received too late for this report but in time for further research. Princeton returns seem to have been lost in the mail.

³Chronic absence, especially in spring, commonly precedes dropping out of school.

less urban aspects of the grade nine population of Anglican schools, would seem in part to be balanced by the large number of more urban non-respondents in St. John's. In all, since the non-respondents seem not to represent any single group, those who did reply would appear to be a representative sample of the grade nines in Anglican schools.

VI. DATA PROCESSING

Once questionnaires and probes had been returned, the next step was to obtain for each pupil scores on the value-orientation scales and on the treatment variables--the indices of community, family, experience, peer-group and bureaucracy. With three adults working continuously during July and August and with the additional services of two grade twelve students for a fortnight, the data on each student were placed in numerical form on a special code sheet.¹ From these sheets, data were punched into IBM cards.

The 2132 IBM cards were then sorted and resorted to produce for each category of each index a frequency distribution of the scores on each value-orientation scale. For example, a frequency distribution of the M-S scores was compiled for those attending Sunday school and one for those not attending Sunday school. From these, means were computed and compared, using the analysis of variance techniques described in the next section. Eventually, several hundred bivariate distributions and analysis of variance tables were compiled and the necessary computations made.

¹Appendix M.

VII. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Testing the Hypotheses

The hypotheses of the present study may be expressed as "over-all null hypotheses" in the following notation:

$$H_0 \quad : \quad \mu_1 = \mu_2 = \dots = \mu_k \\ (1-5)$$

Evidence presented in previous chapters has enabled the prediction of the difference between means. The directional hypotheses may be written:

$$H_1 \quad : \quad \mu_1 > \mu_2 > \dots > \mu_k \\ (1-5)$$

The problem is essentially that of testing to find for each of the criterion variables (value-orientation scales) whether the differences among the mean scores, made by groups of pupils when grouped by treatment variables (community, family, peer or personal characteristics), are in the predicted direction and greater than might be expected by chance.

A two-fold procedure is followed. First, for each criterion variable, analysis of variance is used to test the null hypothesis. Then, whenever this is rejected, the Duncan-Kramer test is used to test, at the .05 level of confidence, the difference between each pair of means.¹

Simple-Randomized Design and One-Way Analysis of Variance

The essential problem in analyzing the present data is to compare

¹For the present study, analysis of variance was considered more suitable than correlation. It was appropriate equally for the nominal classification "Regions," for the many ordinal indices, and for the almost interval data of some of the "hours per week" indices. It proved useful, as correlation could not have been, in suggesting changes in the order of items on some indices. No single correlation technique would have been appropriate for all indices. Moreover, Spearman's rho or other correlation statistics for ordinal data, would have been extremely cumbersome in dealing with the many tied ranks of the value-orientation scales.

differences in scores on each value-orientation scale among pupils divided into groups according to community, family, peer and personal characteristics. Perhaps the mathematical model sufficiently close to this is the simple-randomized design which makes use of the technique one-way analysis of variance.¹

The Suitability of Analysis of Variance

The question to be considered here is whether the design of the present study approaches the mathematical model of simple-randomized design closely enough to justify the use of analysis of variance techniques. According to Lindquist, three assumptions must be met:

1. All treatment groups were originally drawn at random from the same parent population.
2. The variance of the criterion measures is the same for each of these treatment populations.
3. The distribution of criterion measures for each treatment population is normal.²

Normal distributions and homogeneous variances. The mathematical model of one-way analysis of variance demands that the distribution of criterion measures for each treatment population be normal. However, Norton's empirical investigation into the effects of non-normal distributions on the F distribution indicates that:

Unless the departure from normality is so extreme that it can be easily detected by mere inspection of the data, the departure from normality will probably have no appreciable effect on the validity of the F test. . . .³

¹E. F. Lindquist, Design and Analysis of Experiments in Psychology and Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953), 47-107.

²Ibid., 73.

³Ibid., 86.

The model demands also that the variances of the treatment populations be homogeneous. Again, Norton's empirical findings are that the heterogeneity must be quite extreme to be of any consequence.

In cases of non-normality or heterogeneity, Lindquist recommends setting, to avoid Type I errors, a slightly higher level of significance. Accordingly, in the present study, the distribution of the criterion variable for each sample group for each of the 337 analysis of variance tables was scanned by the investigator to see whether the samples of the various treatment populations were markedly heterogeneous in form and variance or whether markedly peaked or flat. In the very few cases, largely involving the I-Lb scale, where the distributions tended from the normal to the rectangular, the investigator was a little more wary than usual in labelling a difference significant, that is, levels of significance were set beyond the .05, closer to the .01 level.

Random samples. Although the mathematical model for analysis of variance calls for the random assignment of subjects to treatment groups, this was not possible in the present study where the experimenter worked with previously existing groups. For example, instead of assigning subjects randomly, some to random communities with television, others to random communities without television, groups of pupils already living in communities of one kind or the other were compared on the various criterion variables. Had pupils been randomly assigned, one could with some confidence be assured that significant differences between groups on the criterion variables were not due to other causes.

In the present study, while one can, for example, report differences between those living in communities with television and those without, it must be understood that the lack of random sampling means that any statistically

significant differences may in fact be due to other differences in characteristics of pupils or communities, perhaps parental education or degree of industrialization. Nevertheless, it is still proper to suggest the possibility that significant differences in treatment groups may be accounted for, at least in part, by differences in treatment variables. This the investigator deems sufficient for the present study, and consequently has selected the analysis of variance procedure as appropriate.

The Duncan-Kramer Test

Analysis of variance indicates whether the means of the various treatment groups are significantly different statistically. It does not indicate which means are significantly higher than which other means. Since the purpose of the statistical analysis of the present study is to test directional hypotheses, further analysis beyond the analysis of variance is required to determine whether differences among the means of treatment groups are in the predicted direction.

This is not an easy problem to solve. The difficulty is related to whether it is proper to use t tests after an F test, and to the larger issue of multiple comparisons following analysis of variance. Several authors, some a little reluctantly, suggest the analysis of differences between pairs after analysis of variance has revealed significant overall differences.¹ Suitable

¹Henry E. Garrett, Statistics in Psychology and Education (fifth edition; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), 284; Joy P. Guildford, Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education (third edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), 264; James E. Wert, C. O. Neidt, and J. S. Ahmann, Statistical Methods in Educational and Psychological Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), 183.

procedures have been suggested by Tukey,¹ Duncan² and others.³ The particular problem of the present study was to find a suitable procedure for groups of unequal numbers. Eventually, an appropriate procedure was found, namely Duncan's Multiple Range Test for independent means, as modified by Kramer for unequal N's.⁴

VIII. TEST-RETEST RELIABILITY

Since there was no information on the reliability of the value-orientation scales, it was decided to calculate stability coefficients using a sample of the original respondents.

Securing the Data

Accordingly, on June 9, seventy days after the mailing of the original packages to principals, 111 pupils in eight schools were asked to repeat the task. The schools, selected from those who had been very co-operative to date in all aspects of the study, were of various sizes and were located in areas of varying degrees of modernization. Because it was late in the year, extremely isolated schools could not be selected. With the exception of School A, where returns were requested from one representative grade nine class, rather than from all the one hundred pupils in the school, all previous participants

¹J. W. Tukey, "Comparing Individual Means with Analysis of Variance," Biometrics 5 (1949), 99-114.

²David B. Duncan, "Multiple Range and Multiple F Tests," Biometrics 11 (1955), 1-42.

³Walter T. Federer, Experimental Design: Theory and Application (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), 18-57.

⁴Duncan, op. cit.; Clyde Young Kramer, "Extension of Multiple Range Tests to Group Means with Unequal Numbers of Replications," Biometrics 12 (September, 1956), 307-10.

in the schools were asked to answer the Student's Questionnaire a second time. Appendix L sets forth a copy of the letter sent to the principals on this occasion, while in Appendix E are shown the participating schools and the returns from each. Scrutiny of the seven schools from which the ninety-seven returns were received suggests them to be representative of the total sample.¹

For each of the seventeen scales the score of each pupil-respondent was compared to his original score, and a Pearsonian correlation coefficient computed. These coefficients for the sample as a whole and for each of the schools are set forth in Table VII.

Stability Coefficients of the Scales

Table VII indicates for the total sample low but reliable stability coefficients. The coefficients of all but one of the scales used in the present study were statistically significant beyond the .001 level, that of the F-P scale being beyond .01. The somewhat inconsistent nature of the reliability coefficients computed for individual schools suggests that in the present state of refinement some of these scales be used with care when dealing with small numbers. Yet, when the number of respondents approaches 100, scales appear sufficiently stable. Accordingly, in the present study small groupings will be avoided whenever possible, particularly with the less reliable scales.

One may speculate upon the factors underlying these low coefficients. Perhaps some of the questions were beyond the comprehension of some grade nine pupils, thus encouraging random answering. Perhaps by grade nine

¹No returns were received from the eighth school.

TABLE VII

STABILITY COEFFICIENTS OF VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES

Scale	School															
	School A		School B		School C		School D		School E		School F		School G		Total	
	r	N	r	N	r	N	r	N	r	N	r	N	r	N	r	N
M-S	.181	(23)	.115	(10)	ind.	(3)	.601	(6)	.548	(13)	.513 ¹	(17)	.168	(22)	.362 ³	(94)
M-H	.119	(22)	.167	(10)	.500	(3)	-.701	(6)	.328	(13)	-.005	(17)	.414	(23)	.341 ³	(94)
D-B	.470	(22)	.753 ¹	(10)	0	(4)	.863 ¹	(6)	.575 ¹	(13)	.583 ¹	(17)	.571 ²	(23)	.603 ³	(95)
D-BB	.100	(22)	.167	(10)	-.663	(4)	-.490	(6)	.429	(13)	.452	(17)	.666 ³	(23)	.362 ³	(95)
F-P	.384	(23)	-.321	(10)	.578	(4)	-.500	(6)	.221	(13)	.536 ¹	(16)	.366	(23)	.316 ²	(95)
F-Pr	.092	(23)	.453	(10)	.255	(4)	.409	(6)	.868 ³	(13)	.613 ¹	(16)	.771 ³	(23)	.541 ³	(95)
Pr-P	.181	(23)	.416	(10)	0	(4)	.548	(6)	.479	(13)	.050	(16)	.660 ³	(23)	.387 ³	(95)
I-L	.516 ¹	(20)	.704 ¹	(10)	-.793	(4)	.732	(6)	.678 ¹	(13)	.002	(17)	.514 ¹	(23)	.428 ³	(93)
I-Lg	.333	(20)	.373	(10)	-.872	(4)	.543	(6)	.256	(13)	.231	(17)	.340	(23)	.293 ²	(93)
I-Lb	.270	(23)	.622	(10)	.302	(4)	.945 ²	(6)	.641 ¹	(13)	.254	(17)	.567 ²	(23)	.472 ³	(96)
I-C	.330	(20)	.615	(10)	-.663	(4)	.181	(6)	.562	(12)	.256	(16)	.619 ²	(23)	.387 ³	(91)
Not used in this study																
Mi-S	.220	(24)	.219	(10)	ind.	(3)	.434	(6)	.384	(13)	.588 ¹	(17)	.009	(23)	.278 ²	(96)
Mm-S	-.224	(23)	.234	(10)	ind.	(4)	.759	(6)	.374	(13)	.123	(17)	.343	(22)	.242 ¹	(95)
S-H	-.118	(22)	.102	(10)	.867	(3)	.735	(6)	.118	(13)	.106	(17)	.352	(23)	.253 ¹	(94)
Ds-B	.641 ³	(24)	.218	(10)	.522	(4)	ind.	(6)	.656 ¹	(13)	.383	(17)	.210	(23)	.527 ³	(97)
B-BB	.566 ²	(22)	.433	(10)	.731	(4)	.218	(6)	.473	(13)	.548 ¹	(17)	.742 ³	(23)	.594 ³	(95)
C-L	-.071	(20)	.425	(10)	0	(3)	.701	(6)	.258	(13)	.071	(17)	.651 ³	(23)	.365 ³	(92)

Note: In this table r refers to stability coefficient, N to the number of pupils used in its computation. Statistical significance at the .001 level is indicated by ³, at the .01 level by ², and at the .05 level by ¹. "Ind." indicates that zero denominators make the computation of the coefficient indeterminate.

operational philosophies of life may not have jelled. Perhaps exposure in school subjects, notably literature, to a variety of world views, is a factor. Perhaps, too, low stability coefficients on these scales is a phenomenon symptomatic of social change.

Some scales seem more reliable than others. Of the eleven scales used in the present study, D-B and I-Lb appear most reliable. With respective total sample stability coefficients of .603 and .472--statistically significant beyond the .001 level,--these have positive correlations in virtually all schools, several of them significant. The I-L scale with total sample stability coefficient of .428 is almost as reliable, and the F-Pr scale at .541 although just as reliable was low in one large school, namely School A. Forming a third classification are the M-S, D-BB, Pr-P and I-C scales, reliable beyond the .001 level but with less consistency among schools. A fourth group--M-H, F-P and I-Lg--although significant at the .01 or better are much less consistent, sometimes with negative correlations between test and retest. The six other scales not to be used in the present study can similarly be classified into these four groups. Table VIII sets forth this information.

Thus, one would have considerably more confidence in the stability of scales in groups I, II and perhaps III, and be careful, when using group IV scales, to have larger numbers of respondents.

Stability Coefficients of Schools

Table IX indicates also that some schools had more high-stability coefficients than others. Thus, of the seventeen scales, School G had positive correlations in every instance, fourteen of them above .3 and nine above .5. Similarly, School E had thirteen correlations above .3, seven above .5. By contrast, School A had only seven of its fourteen positive correlations above

TABLE VIII

VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO STABILITY COEFFICIENTS

Group	Scales of the Present Study	Other Scales
I (highest stability)	D-B, I-Lb	B-BB
II	I-L, F-Pr	Ds-B
III	M-S, D-BB, Pr-P, I-C	C-L
IV (lowest stability)	M-H, F-P, I-Lg	Mi-S, Mm-S, S-H

TABLE IX
SCHOOLS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO STABILITY COEFFICIENTS

School	N	Total 17 Scales			Nine Community Scales		
		Positive r	r > .3	r > .5	Positive r	r > .3	r > .5
G	(23)	17	14	9	9	8	5
E	(13)	17	13	7	9	7	5

D	(6)	13/16	11	9	6	6	5
F	(17)	16	8	6	8	5	4
B	(10)	16	9	4	8	5	3

C	(4)	10/14	6	5	5	3	2
A	(24)	14	7	3	9	4	1

Note: The following illustrates how this table is read: "For School D with 6 pupils, stability coefficients could be obtained for sixteen of the seventeen scales. Of these, thirteen were positive, eleven being above .3, nine above .5. For the nine community scales, used to test Hypothesis I, positive stability coefficients were obtained for six, all six being above .3, with five being above .5."

.3, only three above .5. School C, although comparisons are perhaps unwarranted since it has but four respondents, is similar to A. Schools D, F and B form an intermediate group.

Why are there differences among schools and, particularly, why these differences? Chance may well be an important factor. Also, it may be that in the low-reliability schools children hurried with their questionnaires so that their answers tended to be more random. Yet, all schools chosen had shown interest in the study and had co-operated equally well. Possibly between test and retest, through discussion with parents, teacher, or each other, pupils in low reliability schools may have changed their minds. Or, it may be that the low reliability schools were located in areas of greater social change, where the operational philosophies of the pupils were more tentatively held. When comparisons were made using the nine scales upon which communities had been hypothesized to differ according to their position along the peasant-urban continuum, the same schools are in the same groups with respect to reliability. Moreover, a consideration of the characteristics of these communities suggests that settlements A and F may indeed be more in the throes of peasant-urban change than G, E, or D.

Further study to ascertain the factors underlying reliability differences would appear useful. Does reliability vary directly with age, maturity? Does it tend to be higher in rather peasant communities and rather urban communities but lower in transitional communities, in transitional families and individuals? Are low stability coefficients on these scales in part symptomatic of a changing society? Interesting and important, these questions are posed for other than the present study.

CHAPTER VIII

VALUE-ORIENTATION PROFILES OF NEWFOUNDLAND PUPILS

This brief chapter states the overall value-orientation profiles found by the present investigation to be held by the grade nine pupils in Anglican schools in Newfoundland. Profiles are compared with those held by various cultural groups in New Mexico, as found by Kluckhohn and her associates.¹

Table X sets forth for each value-orientation scale, the mean score made by the 2132 pupils, and the mean score per item--the mean score on the scale divided by the number of items comprising the scale. All mean scores are different, at levels of statistical significance exceeding .001, from the scores expected by chance answering.² Table XI, based on Table X, indicates for each problem the profile or relative dominance of the value-orientations.

On the Man-Nature problem, the Newfoundland pupils indicated a slight preference for the Mastery-over-Nature orientation over the Subject-to-Nature orientation, and both over the Harmony-with-Nature orientation. This same profile was found by Kluckhohn and her associates, using similar scales, although interview procedures, among Texans and Mormons in New Mexico.

¹Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961), 351.

²The procedure followed was that used by Kluckhohn (Ibid., 132-34) in determining preference of members of a culture for one value-orientation over another. For example, as shown in Table X, on the seven-item Pr-P scale, the average preference of the Newfoundland pupils was 5.65. Only 3.50 could be expected by chance. When a t test was applied, the difference between means (observed and expected) was significant far beyond the .001 level. Similarly, for every scale, preference for one value-orientation over the other was found to be statistically significant far beyond the .001 level.

TABLE X

MEAN SCORES MADE ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES
BY 2132 GRADE NINE PUPILS IN ANGLICAN
SCHOOLS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Value- Orientation Scale	Observed Mean Score	Standard Error of the Mean	Mean Score per Item
<u>Man-Nature Problem</u>			
M-S (7 items)	3.73	.03	.53
M-H (7 items)	4.39	.03	.63
S-H (7 items)	4.06	.03	.58
Mi-S (4 items)	2.74	.02	.69
Mm-S (3 items)	.98	.02	.33
<u>Activity Problem</u>			
D-B (8 items)	5.56	.03	.70
D-BB (8 items)	4.90	.03	.61
B-BB (8 items)	2.83	.04	.35
Ds-B (2 items)	1.38	.02	.69
<u>Time Problem</u>			
F-P (7 items)	5.51	.03	.79
F-Pr (7 items)	3.20	.03	.46
Pr-P (7 items)	5.65	.03	.81
<u>Relational Problem</u>			
I-L (8 items)	3.18	.03	.40
I-C (8 items)	2.83	.03	.35
C-L (8 items)	4.31	.03	.54
I-Lg (5 items)	1.97	.02	.39
I-Lb (3 items)	1.22	.02	.41

Note: The meanings of the M-S and other scales are amplified in Table II, on page 159. The size of the mean score, that is the preference for one value-orientation over the other, is for every scale greater, at levels of statistical significance exceeding .001, than that which can be expected by chance answering.

TABLE XI

COMPOSITE PROFILE OF THE VALUE-ORIENTATIONS HELD BY GRADE
NINE PUPILS IN ANGLICAN SCHOOLS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Problem	Profile
Man-Nature	M > S > H
Activity	D > BB > B
Time	Pr > F > P
Relational	C > L > I

Note: These profiles are derived from Table X. For example, as indicated in that table, the Mastery-over-Nature orientation was preferred, beyond the .001 level of statistical significance, over the Subject-to-Nature orientation. Similarly, both Mastery-over-Nature and Subject-to-Nature were preferred to Harmony-with-Nature. These three data are combined logically into the abbreviated profile M > S > H.

A different profile was found to be held by Spanish Americans, Zuni and Navaho. For Newfoundland pupils, when the seven items on the M-S scale were divided into those having to do with man as an individual relating to nature, and mankind as a whole relating to nature, differences in the scores on both groups of items were apparent. Table X indicates that for 69 per cent of their choices Newfoundland pupils believe that an individual's success in business, school, fishery, or in the face of possible calamity is largely under his own control, whereas only for 33 per cent of their choices do they believe in mankind's eventual or present dominance over natural forces including disease and weather. Whether these are two distinct dimensions or extremes on the one M-S dimension are possibilities requiring further research. They will not be explored in the present study. In subsequent chapters only the complete M-S scale and the M-H scale will be considered for the Man-Nature problem.

For the Activity problem the average profile for pupils was D>BB>B. While the Being-in-Becoming alternative was not used by Kluckhohn, the D>B preference was similarly found to exist among Texans, Mormons, Zuni and Navaho, but not among the Spanish Americans, who preferred the reverse. Table X shows that the Ds or striving aspects of Doing were selected by a percentage (69) of pupils similar to that (70) selecting the total D-B scale. Again, while it would be interesting to explore how the Ds choice differs from the overall D choice on such variables as pupil's type of community or family, this is beyond the scope of the present investigation, which is limited to exploring the D-B and D-BB scales.

The profile for the Time problem was found to be Pr>F>P. The Past orientation was decidedly unpopular in that pupils preferred Future 79 per cent of the time and Present 81 per cent of the time. Present in being

chosen over Future 54 per cent of the time is thus generally but not strongly preferred. This Pr>F>P profile is also that of Kluckhohn's Spanish-Americans. The relegation of the Past alternative to a very definite third place is also the pattern of her Texans and Mormons, although these groups showed a slightly greater preference for Future over Present than did our Newfoundland subjects.

Concerning the Relational problem, the Newfoundland sample's choosing C>L>I as their dominant profile is similar to that of Kluckhohn's Zuni and Navaho but strangely different from Texans and Mormons, who placed I>C>L, and from Spanish Americans, whose profile was I>L>C. That 65 per cent of the choices between Collaterality and Individualism made by Newfoundland pupils favour Collaterality indicates strong preference. That of 60 per cent for Lineality over Individualism is also noteworthy. Thus, these Newfoundland students quite plainly reject the Individualistic value-orientation in favour of either the Collateral or the Lineal. They also tend to have a slight preference for Collaterality over Lineality.

In all, the value-orientation profiles of Newfoundland pupils resembled most those of Kluckhohn's Texans and Mormons, although with rather less emphasis on Mastery-over-Nature, and slightly more preference for Present over Future. The major difference was in the Texan and Mormon first-order preference for Individualism, whereas for the Newfoundland sample this orientation was least preferred. Several contributory factors can be suggested. First, Texan preference for Individualism (stronger than Mormon) seems related to their being independent farmers, a suggestion supported by our Chapter XIII finding that in Newfoundland, children of independent fishermen had highest I-L scores. The general preference of Newfoundland subjects for Collaterality and Lineality, rather than Indi-

vidualism, may be related to their tightly-knit kinship patterns and village life, but perhaps more especially to their being teenagers and pupils. Further studies would appear appropriate using American children or Newfoundland adults.

CHAPTER IX

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter will present the findings relevant to Hypothesis I which deals with the expected relationships between community characteristics and pupil value-orientations. As set forth previously, Hypothesis I states:

The smaller the proportion of the inhabitants of a Newfoundland settlement engaged in the traditional fishery, the greater the industrialization, the stronger the transportation link with the outside, the larger the population, the less the influence of the denomination, the stronger the television coverage, and the stronger the form of municipal government, then (a) the more often will its high school pupils choose the Mastery-over-Nature value-orientation and the less often the Subject-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature orientations; (b) the more often will they choose Doing and the less often Being and Being-in-Becoming; (c) the more often Future and the less often Past and Present; and (d) the more often the Individualistic and the less often the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal value-orientation.

Table XII presents an overview of the chapter's findings. It indicates overwhelming support for section (a) of Hypothesis I, partially negates sections (b) and (c), and provides partial support for section (d). The findings for each community variable will now be presented and analyzed in detail.

I. POPULATION

Table XIII sets forth the mean scores on the value-orientation scales made by pupils categorized according to the number of people in their communities.¹ Since the frequency in several of these categories was less than 100, Table XIV sets forth the same data for the pupils regrouped into seven categories.

¹The details of this and the other variables used to classify communities are set forth as Appendix C, Indices I.1 - I.8.

TABLE XII

THE EXTENT TO WHICH STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES SUPPORT THE HYPOTHEZIZED RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN VALUE-ORIENTATION SCORES AND COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

Community Characteristic	Value-Orientation Scale								
	M-S ^a	M-H	D-B	D-BB	F-P	F-Pr	I-L	I-Lg	I-Lb
Population	Yes ^b	Yes	Ny	Ny	Yn	Ny	Yn	Ny	Yn
Proportion Fishing	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	Ny	-	No	Yes
Industrialization	Yes	Yn	-	-	-	YN	-	No	Yes
Transportation Link	Yes	Yn	YN	-	-	-	Yes	Ny	Yes
Proportion Anglican	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	No	Yes
Television Coverage	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	-	No	Yes
Municipal Government	^c —	^c —	-	-	-	-	-	-	^c —

Notes: (a) The meanings of the M-S and other scales are amplified in Table II, on page 159.

(b) Yes means that statistically significant differences were all in the predicted direction, Yn that almost all statistically significant differences were as predicted, YN that statistically significant differences were divided almost equally between those in the predicted direction and those in the opposite direction, Ny that the predominance of such differences was not in the predicted direction, and No that all statistically significant differences were in the direction opposite to that predicted. The - means there were no statistically significant differences.

(c) These do not exactly represent the findings. See the succeeding discussion for complete details.

TABLE XIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE POPULATION OF THEIR COMMUNITIES

Value- Orienta- tion Scale	Population of Community										Significant Differences (.05)		
	9 50,000 and over (156)	8 10,000- 49,999 (110)	7 5,000- 9,999 (16)	6 2,500- 4,999 (172)	5 1,500 2,499 (170)	4 1,000- 1,499 (197)	3 500- 999 (482)	2 300- 499 (360)	1 200- 299 (189)	0 100- 199 (190)			
M-S	4.58	4.06	3.81	3.91	3.82	3.62	3.74	3.56	3.50	3.36	3.07	3.00	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 > 8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, B, A \\ 8 > 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, B \\ 6 > 2, 1, 0, B \\ 3, 5 > 0, B \\ 2, 4 > B \end{array} \right.$
M-H	5.15	4.86	4.18	4.52	4.46	4.36	4.37	4.24	4.13	4.00	4.00	3.80	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 > 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, B \\ 8 > 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, B \\ 6 > 2, 1, 0, B \\ 5 > 1, 0 \\ 3, 4 > 0 \end{array} \right.$
D-B	4.89	5.45	6.18	5.66	5.68	5.50	5.65	5.60	5.93	5.33	5.42	5.40	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 > 9, 8, 4, 2, 0 \\ 3 > 9, 0 \\ 0, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 > 9 \end{array} \right.$
D-BB	4.55	4.95	4.82	4.94	5.01	4.90	5.01	4.72	5.14	4.97	4.54	4.80	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 > 9, 2, B \\ 3 > 9, 2 \\ 0, 4, 5, 6, 8 > 9 \end{array} \right.$
F-P	5.65	5.40	5.82	5.54	5.54	5.62	5.50	5.60	5.22	5.54	5.23	4.40	0, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 > 1
F-Pr	2.72	2.84	3.35	3.40	3.26	3.04	3.20	3.33	3.32	3.35	3.23	2.20	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2, 6 > 9, 8, 4 \\ 0, 1, 3, 5 > 9, 8 \end{array} \right.$
I-L	3.54	3.01	3.06	3.24	3.48	3.15	3.19	2.98	3.06	3.25	3.07	3.40	5, 9 > 8, 4, 3, 2, 1
I-Lg	1.92	1.63	1.71	1.99	2.02	1.92	2.05	1.98	1.94	2.00	1.93	2.40	nil

TABLE XIII (continued)

Value- Orientation Scale	Population of Community										A	Significant Differences (.05)
	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0		
	50,000 and over (156)	10,000- 49,999 (110)	5,000- 9,999 (16)	2,500- 4,999 (172)	1,500- 2,499 (170)	1,000- 1,499 (197)	500- 999 (482)	300- 499 (360)	200- 299 (189)	100- 199 (190)	B 50- 99 (43)	(5)
I-Lb	1.61	1.38	1.35	1.24	1.44	1.22	1.15	1.00	1.11	1.25	1.14	1.00
												$\begin{cases} 9 > 6, 4, 3, 2, 1, 0, B \\ 5, 8 > 3, 2, 1 \\ 0, 3, 4, 6 > 2 \end{cases}$

Note: Numbers in parentheses in the heading of this and subsequent tables refer to the number of pupil respondents in each category. For each table, categories are arranged as a peasant-urban continuum with the items on the left approaching the urban end and those on the right the peasant end of the continuum. Significant differences (.05) between pairs of means were identified only if an F test had revealed statistically significant overall variation. "Nil" refers to an F not statistically significant (.05). For community variables, most F tests that were significant were significant beyond the .01 level, the most stringent level for which tables of F were available.

TABLE XIV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE POPULATION OF THEIR COMMUNITIES

Value- Orientation Scale	Population of Community							Significant Differences (.05)
	9 50,000 and over (156)	7-8 5,000- 49,999 (126)	5-6 1,500- 4,999 (342)	3-4 500- 1,499 (679)	2 300- 499 (360)	1 200- 299 (189)	A-B-O Less than 200 (238)	
M-S	4.58	4.03	3.86	3.71	3.56	3.50	3.30	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 > 7-8, 5-6, 3-4, 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 7-8 > 3-4, 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 5-6 > 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 2, 3-4 > A-B-O \end{array} \right.$
M-H	5.15	4.77	4.49	4.37	4.24	4.13	4.00	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 > 7-8, 5-6, 3-4, 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 7-8 > 5-6, 3-4, 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 5-6 > 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 3-4 > 1, A-B-O \\ 2 > A-B-O \end{array} \right.$
D-B	4.89	5.55	5.67	5.61	5.60	5.93	5.35	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 > 9, 3-4, 2, A-B-O \\ 3-4, 5-6 > 9, A-B-O \\ A-B-O, 2, 7-8 > 9 \end{array} \right.$
D-BB	4.55	4.94	4.98	4.98	4.72	5.14	4.89	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1, 3-4, 5-6 > 9, 2 \\ A-B-O, 7-8 > 9 \end{array} \right.$
F-P	5.65	5.46	5.54	5.53	5.60	5.22	5.46	2, 3-4, 5-6, 9 > 1
F-Pr	2.72	2.91	3.33	3.15	3.33	3.32	3.31	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} A-B-O, 1, 2, 5-6 > 9, 7-8 \\ 3-4 > 9 \end{array} \right.$
I-L	3.54	3.02	3.36	3.18	2.98	3.06	3.22	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 9 > 7-8, 3-4, 2, 1, A-B-O \\ 5-6 > 7-8, 2, 1 \end{array} \right.$
I-Lg	1.92	1.64	2.01	2.02	1.94	2.00	1.99	A-B-O, 1, 2, 3-4, 5-6, 9 > 7-8

TABLE XIV (continued)

Value- Orientation Scale	Population of Community						Significant Differences (.05)
	9 50,000 and over (156)	7-8 5,000- 49,999 (126)	5-6 1,500- 4,999 (342)	3-4 500- 1,499 (679)	2 300- 499 (360)	1 200- 299 (189)	A-B-0 Less than 200 (238)
I-Lb	1.61	1.38	1.34	1.17	1.00	1.11	1.23
							$\begin{cases} 9 > 7-8, 5-6, 3-4, 2, 1, A-B-0 \\ 5-6, 7-8 > 3-4, 2, 1 \\ A-B-0, 3-4 > 2 \end{cases}$

Note: Complete details of the Community Population categories are contained in Index I.1 of Appendix C, on page 370.

The Man-Nature Problem

All statistically significant differences in these tables indicate for M-S and M-H scales that, as hypothesized, the larger the community, that is the closer to the urban end of the peasant-urban continuum, the greater the preference for the Mastery alternative. Very interesting here is the great difference between the means of pupils in the most urban category (St. John's) and those in the tiniest settlements.

The Activity Problem

The findings on the Activity problem indicate that the relationship between pupils' D-B scores and community population is more complex than hypothesized. First, and this is contrary to prediction, St. John's pupils (category 9) had D-B scores lower, at levels statistically significant, than those in all other population categories. Secondly, the relationship appears curvilinear in that scores in very tiny settlements are lower than in those of moderate size, with highest D-B scores occurring in between, especially in places of 200-299 population.

St. John's pupils had lower scores on the D-BB scale also. Again, this was contrary to hypothesis. The low scores of category (2) pupils suggest the relationship with population not to be entirely linear.

The Time Problem

The only statistically significant finding for the F-P scale was that pupils in communities of 200-299 population had scores lower than those in communities that were larger. While this and several other differences in the tables are in the hypothesized direction, it appears that the relationship between F-P scores and community population is neither strong nor entirely as predicted.

Tables XIII and XIV indicate that for the F-Pr scale pupils in the large urban communities of categories (8) and (9)--Bell Island, Windsor and St. John's--tended less often to choose Future over Present than did pupils in smaller, more peasant communities. One cannot infer that the more urban the community the less the Future orientation, because one of the differences was in the opposite direction, but one can state that pupils in the very large communities of 10,000 or more were more Present-oriented and perhaps less Future-oriented than pupils from smaller communities.

The Relational Problem

With one exception, all significant differences suggest that in larger communities pupils choose the Individualistic value-orientation over the Lineal more often than do pupils in smaller places. Especially is this true when comparing pupils in the largest category of community (St. John's) with those in smaller places. The exception is that pupils in category (5) communities more often chose the Individualistic over the Lineal than did those in the larger category (8) community--Bell Island. Bell Island pupils more than those in any other category also chose Intergenerational Lineality. A possible explanation for both these findings, which seemingly run counter to prediction, is that Bell Island has but one large company upon which people are unusually dependent.

Concerning Bureaucratic Lineality, all but one of the statistically significant differences set forth in the tables indicate that in larger communities this orientation tends to be less often preferred over Individualism than in smaller communities. The exception is category (2) communities with population 300-499, where pupils prefer Bureaucratic Lineality over Individualism more often than those in category (0) communities with population 100-199.

II. PROPORTION OF INHABITANTS FISHING

Pupils were divided into five ordinal groups according to the proportion of the inhabitants of their communities engaged in fishing--none or hardly any, fewer than 1/4, fewer than 1/2, 1/2 or more, 3/4 or more. Then, the scores on the various value-orientation scales made by these five groups of pupils were compared. Table XV sets forth the findings. Since the previous section indicated that for most scales St. John's pupils' scores were different from those outside St. John's, in discussing the relationship of independent variables with value-orientation scales the findings will be presented both including and omitting St. John's pupils.

The Man-Nature Problem

On the M-S scale statistically significant differences were found between the group of pupils from category (0) communities where "none or hardly any" of the inhabitants were fishing and those from each of the other groups. Thus, the differences were between communities which were virtually non-fishing and those where at least some fishing was carried on. As long as there were some fishermen in the community it did not seem to matter very much, as far as the M-S scores of the grade nine pupils were concerned, how great the proportion of fishermen was.

Concerning the M-H scale, findings were somewhat the same with pupils from the non-fishing communities choosing the Mastery alternative over the Harmony alternative more often than did pupils in communities where there were at least some fishermen. However, it also did matter how great the proportion of fishermen was, for pupils of category (1) communities scored more than those of category (2) or (4), and those of category (3) more than those of category (4) communities.

TABLE XV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE FRACTION OF THE MEN IN THEIR COMMUNITIES ENGAGED IN THE FISHERY

Value- Orientation Scale	Fraction of Men Engaged in Fishery					Significant Differences (.05)	Omitting St. John's
	0 None or Hardly Any (780-156)	1 <1/4 (537)	2 <1/2 (192)	3 1/2 or More (252)	4 3/4 or More (325)		
M-S	4.00 (3.86)	3.65	3.44	3.60	3.46	0 > 4, 3, 2, 1	0 > 4, 3, 2, 1
M-H	4.62 (4.49)	4.37	4.12	4.31	4.07	$\begin{cases} 0 > 4, 3, 2, 1 \\ 1 > 4, 2 \\ 3 > 4 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} 0, 1 > 4, 2 \\ 3 > 4 \end{cases}$
D-B	5.43 (5.56)	5.65	5.57	5.81	5.53	$\begin{cases} 1, 3 > 0 \\ 3 > 4 \end{cases}$	nil
D-BB	4.89 (4.98)	4.88	4.79	5.05	4.93	nil	nil
F-P	5.53 (5.50)	5.55	5.55	5.46	5.42	nil	nil
F-Pr	3.02 (3.09)	3.35	3.04	3.30	3.39	$\begin{cases} 1, 3, 4 > 0 \\ 1, 4 > 2 \end{cases}$	1, 4 > 2, 0
I-L	3.19 (3.10)	3.21	3.28	3.10	3.14	nil	nil
I-Lg	1.86 (1.84)	1.99	2.04	2.13	2.05	1, 2, 3, 4 > 0	1, 3, 4 > 0
I-Lb	1.33 (1.26)	1.22	1.26	.97	1.09	$\begin{cases} 0 > 4, 3 \\ 1, 2 > 3 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} 0 > 4, 3 \\ 1, 2 > 3 \end{cases}$

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index I.2 of Appendix C, on page 370.
Also in the body of the tables, numbers in parentheses refer to means of pupils excluding St. John's. In the heading, the first number in parentheses indicates all pupils in that category, the second, St. John's pupils there, if any.

Thus, all statistically significant differences for both value-orientation scales of the Man-Nature problem were found to be in the predicted direction.

The Activity Problem

For D-B scores there were, when the low-scoring St. John's pupils were omitted from the analysis, no statistically significant differences. However, the high scores of category (3) pupils, coupled with the lower scores towards both the urban end and the peasant end of the continuum, again suggest a curvilinear relationship, with the all-fishing community being somewhat similar to the non-fishing community in being less Doing-oriented than the intermediate, the transitional community.

The differences on the D-BB scale were found not to be statistically significant.

The Time Problem

As shown in the previous chapter, grade nine pupils in Anglican schools in Newfoundland strongly reject the Past orientation in favour of the Future orientation and the Present orientation. Yet, as the data presented in Table XV indicate, there seems to be no difference in F-P scores among communities grouped according to the proportion of the inhabitants fishing, that is, no relationship between a pupil's F-P score and his community's position on this particular peasant-urban continuum.

Table XV does, however, reveal significant intercommunity differences in pupil preference on the F-Pr scale. Here, contrary to Hypothesis I, pupils from the most urban category of community--none or hardly anyone fishing--were usually less Future-oriented and more Present-oriented than those in communities

where fishing was a more common occupation. However, one of the five significant differences was in the predicted direction, for the 192 category (2) pupils scored lower than category (1) pupils on the F-Pr scale. On the whole, there seems to be an indication that in Newfoundland communities where fishing is more dominant, the pupils in Anglican schools have stronger hopes for the future's being better than the present than do pupils in the more urban or less-dominantly-fishing communities.

The Relational Problem

In general, as the findings of the previous chapter showed, subjects tended to be somewhat more Lineal than Individualistic. Yet, as set forth in Table XV, there are no statistically significant differences on the overall I-L scale among pupils categorized according to the proportion of fishermen in the community. However, when the scores are broken into I-Lg (Intergenerational Lineality) and I-Lb (Bureaucratic Lineality), interesting findings emerge. In non-fishing communities (category 0), pupils are unexpectedly less Individualistic, more Intergenerationally Lineal than in fishing communities, yet they are less Bureaucratically Lineal, that is, less desirous of the subordinate-superordinate relationship of the large business enterprise than pupils in strongly-fishing communities. Thus, there is some indication that pupils in Newfoundland fishing communities may tend more than their counterparts in non-fishing communities to reject their elders but to seek the security of the bureaucracy.

III. DEGREE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Pupils were again divided into five seemingly ordinal groups, this time according to the "Degree of Industrialization" of their communities as set forth

in Index I.3 of Appendix C. Categories (0), (1) and (2) are communities where most of the men are not fishermen, while in communities categorized (3) and (4) most men are. Category (0) is the non-fishing industrial settlement where men work most of the year right in the community, whereas for category (1) communities most men work most of the year although a substantial number go away to do so. Category (2) is largely the non-fishing community where most men are part-time workers only. For category (3) communities most men do other work when the fishery is over. Category (4) communities are those where fishing is virtually the only occupation. Table XVI sets forth the findings in detail.

The Man-Nature Problem

Several statistically significant differences were found for both scales of the Man-Nature problem, all in the hypothesized direction. Rather interestingly, even in category (2), the non-fishing settlements where most men are unemployed more than half the year, the Mastery alternative tended to be chosen over Subject or Harmony alternatives more so than in the dominantly fishing communities.

The Activity Problem

With St. John's pupils omitted from the analysis, there were no statistically significant differences on the D-B scale. However, the same curvilinear tendency can again be seen, with pupils on the extremely peasant end of the continuum and, especially, pupils at the very urban end apparently having lower scores than those in transitional communities.

For the D-BB scale, differences without statistical significance perhaps suggest that pupils of more urban areas, especially St. John's, place,

TABLE XVI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE DEGREE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THEIR COMMUNITIES

Value- Orientation Scale	Degree of Industrialization				Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 (341-156)	1 (658)	2 (477)	3 (308)	4 (302)	All Pupils Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.07 (3.63)	3.76	3.70	3.59	3.44	$\begin{cases} 0>4, 3, 2, 1 \\ 1, 2>4 \end{cases}$ 1, 2>4
M-H	4.65 (4.23)	4.36	4.50	4.19	4.16	$\begin{cases} 0>4, 3, 1 \\ 2>4, 3 \\ 1>4 \end{cases}$ $\begin{cases} 2>4, 3, 0 \\ 1>4 \end{cases}$
D-B	5.17 (5.41)	5.66	5.61	5.71	5.54	1, 2, 3, 4>0 nil
D-BB	4.70 (4.82)	4.92	4.96	4.93	4.99	nil nil
F-P	5.52 (5.41)	5.47	5.59	5.54	5.44	nil nil
F-Pr	2.99 (3.21)	3.26	3.08	3.40	3.28	$\begin{cases} 1, 3, 4>0 \\ 1, 3>2 \end{cases}$ 3>2
I-L	3.41 (3.30)	3.14	3.17	3.21	3.04	0>4, 2, 1 nil
I-Lg	1.97 (2.01)	1.90	1.94	2.07	2.09	3, 4>1 3, 4>1
I-Lb	1.44 (1.29)	1.25	1.22	1.14	.95	$\begin{cases} 0>4, 3, 2, 1 \\ 1, 2, 3>4 \end{cases}$ 0, 1, 2, 3>4

Note: The categories indicating Degree of Industrialization are difficult to describe briefly.
Complete details are contained in Index I.3 of Appendix C, on page 370.

contrary to Hypothesis I, lower emphasis on Doing as opposed to Being-in-Becoming than do pupils in communities closer to the peasant end of the continuum.

The Time Problem

Again, groups were all rather uniformly high on the F-P scale. There were also no clear trends found for the F-Pr scale. Interestingly, however, pupils from category (2) communities, where most men are not fishermen but unemployed most of the year, chose F-Pr less often than pupils in category (3), and apparently less often, although differences were not statistically significant, than pupils in the other categories.

The Relational Problem

Concerning the Relational problem, pupils in category (0) closest to the urban end of the continuum, while still dominantly Lineal rather than Individualistic, were less so than those in the less urban communities. For the previous community index--Proportion Engaged in the Fishery--there had been no significant differences. For the present index the (0) category is more urban than that reported in Table XV in that now communities where most men go away to work are not included. Thus, the combined findings on the two variables suggest, as did the population variable's findings, that in very urban communities the Individualistic orientation tends to be more valued, the Lineal orientation less valued than by pupils in less urban communities.

However, when considering the sub-scales I-Lg and I-Lb, there is an indication that Intergenerational Lineality is preferred more in the more urban areas, and that Bureaucratic Lineality is chosen the more often in the less urban areas.

IV. STRENGTH OF TRANSPORTATION LINK

Pupils were divided into nine categories according to the strength of the transportation link between their communities and the outside world. As indicated in Appendix C, Index 1.4, some communities were on the Trans-Canada highway or connected roads, others were connected but blocked by snow part of the year, others had only a regular railway or boat connection with the outside, and some had even more primitive connections. Table XVII reports the findings. Since the number of pupils in several of the categories was below one hundred, the communities were regrouped into four categories--those on the Trans-Canada Highway or unblocked connected road, those on roads connected to the Trans-Canada Highway but blocked a week or more yearly, those blocked a month or more, and all other more isolated communities. Findings for these re-groupings are shown in Table XVIII.

The Man-Nature Problem

Table XVII indicates generally, and Table XVIII even more pointedly, that pupils' preferences for the Mastery alternative over both the Subject alternative and the Harmony alternative vary inversely with isolation.

Only one of the sixteen statistically significant differences of Table XVII is in the opposite direction: pupils in category (3) communities scored lower on the M-H scale than did those in category (4). Probing revealed an explanation for the unusually low scores in category (3). The communities chiefly responsible were three former logging settlements where most of the men now work less than half the year. Pupils from there scored extremely low on the M-S scale, also. The other communities involved are in the nearby Southwest Coast region which, as will be discussed later, had the second-lowest Mastery preference of all twelve regions of the province, a finding

TABLE XVII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THE STRENGTH
OF THEIR COMMUNITY'S TRANSPORTATION LINK WITH THE OUTSIDE

Value- Orientation Scale	Strength of Transportation Link with Outside								Significant Differences (.05)
	0 (1189)	1 (454)	2 (167)	3 (69)	4 (34)	5 (118)	6 (10)	7 (39)	8 (10)
M-S	3.85	3.67	3.61	3.19	3.21	3.54	3.20	3.49	2.70
M-H	4.50	4.36	4.37	3.75	4.32	4.14	3.50	3.74	3.60
D-B	5.51	5.64	5.89	5.84	4.85	5.36	4.80	5.41	6.00
D-BB	4.90	4.90	4.95	4.83	4.59	4.86	4.80	5.28	5.50
F-P	5.52	5.48	5.59	5.55	5.59	5.55	4.90	5.36	5.30
F-Pr	3.13	3.24	3.34	3.41	3.27	3.41	3.40	3.03	3.90
I-L	3.28	3.06	3.22	3.06	3.21	2.83	3.10	2.95	2.60
I-Lg	1.98	1.84	2.16	2.19	2.15	1.92	1.90	1.95	1.60
I-Lb	1.30	1.22	1.06	.86	1.06	.91	1.20	1.00	1.00

Note: The categories indicating Strength of Transportation Link are difficult to describe briefly.
Complete details are contained in Index I.4 of Appendix C, on page 370.

TABLE XVIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE STRENGTH OF THEIR COMMUNITY'S TRANSPORTATION LINK WITH THE OUTSIDE

Value-Orientation Scale	Strength of Transportation Link			Significant Differences (.05)		
	0 (1189-156)	1 (454)	2 (167) (280)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's	
M-S	3.85 (3.74)	3.67	3.61	3.36	{0>3-8, 2, 1 1>3-8	0, 1>3-8
M-H	4.50 (4.40)	4.36	4.37	3.97	0, 1, 2>3-8	0, 1, 2>3-8
D-B	5.51 (5.61)	5.64	5.89	5.43	2>3-8, 0	2>3-8, 0
D-BB	4.90 (4.95)	4.90	4.95	4.90	nil	nil
F-P	5.52 (5.50)	5.48	5.59	5.50	nil	nil
F-Pr	3.13 (3.19)	3.24	3.34	3.36	3-8>0	nil
I-L	3.28 (3.25)	3.06	3.22	2.95	0>3-8, 1	0>3-8, 1
I-Lg	1.98 (1.99)	1.84	2.16	2.01	0, 2, 3-8>1	0, 2, 3-8>1
I-Lb	1.30 (1.25)	1.22	1.06	.94	{0>3-8, 2 1>3-8	{0>3-8, 2 1>3-8

Note: Category 0 contains respondents in communities on the Trans-Canada Highway or road connected with it open all year round; category 1 those on roads connected with TCH but blocked by snow a week or more each winter; category 2 those on roads connected with TCH but blocked a month or more; category 3-8 those in more isolated communities. Complete details are contained in Index I.4 of Appendix C, on page 370.

related perhaps to its lack of television, high proportion of Anglicans, and the dominance of the fishery and the sea, factors which would perhaps overpower the tendency towards Mastery of having a local road linking each of these settlements with several similar neighbouring ones. Without these local roads, these settlements would have been placed in categories (5) and (6).

Apart from this one complication, the more urban (the less isolated) the community the stronger the preference for Mastery.

The Activity Problem

Again, there are no differences on the D-BB scale, and, again, differences on the D-B scale are not entirely as hypothesized. Table XVIII indicates, as did Table XV, that it is pupils in the intermediate or emerging communities that have the strongest D-B values. These communities are on roads, but roads blocked by snow a month or more each year--perhaps interpreted by the inhabitants as being blocked longer than they might be.

The Time Problem

As with previous community variables, there were no differences on the F-P scale among pupils grouped according to the isolation of their communities. However, on the F-Pr scale the one significant difference indicates, again contrary to prediction, that in the more isolated communities pupils tend to have higher F-Pr scores, perhaps tend more to see the future as going to be better than the present, than pupils in less isolated settlements.

The Relational Problem

For the I-L scale, pupils whose communities were on the Trans-Canada Highway or connected road tended to be less Lineal, more Individualistic than

those in the more isolated settlements. Moreover, as indicated in Table XVIII, the less the isolation the less the tendency to choose Bureaucratic Lineality over the Individualistic orientation. Table XVII indicates that in category (1) communities, those on roads connected with the Trans-Canada Highway but blocked less than a month but a week or more each winter, the preference for Intergenerational Lineality was stronger than in communities more isolated or less isolated.

V. PROPORTION OF COMMUNITY ANGLICAN

Pupils were grouped according to the proportion of their community's inhabitants who were Anglican, the notion being in part that religious homogeneity-heterogeneity was a kind of peasant-urban continuum. Findings tended to lend some support to this.

The Man-Nature Problem

On both the M-S and M-H scales, all statistically significant differences indicate that pupils from communities with a smaller proportion of Anglicans tended to choose Mastery more often than pupils in communities with a larger proportion of Anglicans.

The Activity Problem

With St. John's pupils omitted from the analysis, there were no statistically significant differences on either the D-B or D-BB scales. This suggests scores on neither scale to be related to the proportion of Anglicans in the community. Pupils in communities where fewer than one-quarter were Anglican did seem to have rather high D-B scores.

TABLE XIX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE FRACTION OF THEIR COMMUNITY WHICH IS ANGLICAN

Value- Orientation Scale	0 None or Hardly Any (4)	Fraction of Community Anglican				Significant Differences (.05)	
		1 <1/4 (269-156)	2 <1/2 (382)	3 1/2 or More (327)	4 3/4 or More (1103)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.50	4.30 (3.92)	3.90	3.69	3.54	{1>4, 3, 2 2>4	1, 2>4
M-H	6.00	4.83 (4.40)	4.53	4.30	4.24	{1>4, 3, 2 0, 2>4, 3	0, 2>4, 3
D-B	6.00	5.30 (5.87)	5.63	5.58	5.59	nil	nil
D-BB	4.75	4.68 (4.87)	4.94	4.80	4.98	2, 4>1	nil
F-P	6.50	5.65 (5.65)	5.48	5.41	5.51	nil	nil
F-Pr	4.00	3.03 (3.43)	3.13	3.17	3.27	nil	nil
I-L	3.00	3.32 (3.03)	3.11	3.25	3.16	nil	nil
I-Lg	2.25	1.89 (1.84)	1.79	2.07	2.02	3, 4>2, 1	{3>2, 1 4>2
I-Lb	.75	1.44 (1.19)	1.32	1.18	1.14	{1>4, 3 2>4	2>4

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index I.5 of Appendix C, on page 371.

The Time Problem

There were no statistically significant differences on the scales of the Time problem and no obvious, consistent trends.

The Relational Problem

One might have expected pupils in largely Anglican communities to be more Lineally-oriented than those in communities less strongly Anglican. However, there were no statistically significant differences on the I-L scale. On the I-Lg scale, contrary to Hypothesis I, students in dominantly Anglican communities were unexpectedly less Lineally-oriented than those in communities less strongly Anglican. Yet, Anglican dominance and Bureaucratic Lineality seemed to vary together. It would seem from these findings that it is not Anglicanism per se but perhaps religious homogeneity, a characteristic of the peasant community, that more aptly describes this variable.

VI. STRENGTH OF TELEVISION COVERAGE

Table XX indicates, that with respect to pupil value-orientations, there were differences between communities with television and those with little or no television. Where more than half the homes had sets (category 3), pupil value-orientations were usually different from those where fewer than half the homes had sets. However, there were no statistically significant differences among the value-orientations of pupils whose communities were classified as (0), (1) or (2), that is, communities with no television, poor coverage and few sets, and with fewer than half the homes having sets.

TABLE XX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
THE STRENGTH OF TELEVISION COVERAGE IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

Value- Orientation Scale	Strength of Television Coverage				Significant Differences (.05)	
	3 Most Homes Have Sets (1166-156)	2 < 1/2 Homes Have Sets (214)	1 Poor Recep- tion and Very Few Sets (364)	0 No TV (345)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.96 (3.86)	3.56	3.45	3.35	3>2,1,0	3>2,1,0
M-H	4.61 (4.53)	4.11	4.04	4.16	3>2,1,0	3>2,1,0
D-B	5.48 (5.58)	5.71	5.67	5.60	nil	nil
D-BB	4.96 (5.02)	4.93	4.85	4.78	nil	3>0
F-P	5.56 (5.54)	5.42	5.43	5.52	nil	nil
F-Pr	3.10 (3.16)	3.30	3.35	3.30	0,1>3	nil
I-L	3.23 (3.18)	3.00	3.14	3.18	nil	nil
I-Lg	1.87 (1.87)	2.01	2.11	2.11	0,1>3	0,1>3
I-Lb	1.36 (1.32)	1.00	1.03	1.07	3>2,1,0	3>2,1,0

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index I.6 of Appendix C, on page 371.

The Man-Nature Problem

Pupils of category (3) communities tended more often than those in other communities less well covered by television to choose Mastery rather than the Subject or Harmony orientations. Other differences, although mostly in the hypothesized direction, were not statistically significant.

The Activity Problem

Differences on the D-B scale did not approach statistical significance. However, on the D-BB scale the mean score for pupils in category (3) communities excluding St. John's was somewhat higher than that for pupils in category (0).

The Time Problem

While there were no significant differences on the F-P scale, there were on the F-Pr scale. Pupils in category (3) communities were, contrary to Hypothesis I, less prone than pupils in communities with weaker television coverage to look to the future as promising a better life than the present.

The Relational Problem

There were no differences with respect to the overall I-L scale. However, pupils in category (3) communities tended less often than pupils in other communities to prefer the Individualistic over the Intergenerational Lineal orientation but more often to prefer the Individualistic over the Bureaucratic Lineal orientation.

VII. STRENGTH OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

On the variable "Strength of Municipal Government," communities were divided into three groups: (2) those without any local government (a

majority), (1) those with community councils or local improvement district boards, weak forms of local government, and (0) those with the stronger forms of city, town, or rural-district councils. The only statistically significant differences, as Table XXI indicates, were on the M-S, M-H, D-BB and I-Lb scales.

When group (1) was combined with group (0) to provide a contrast with group (2) of local government versus no local government, several differences, as Table XXII indicates, were still apparent. However, when St. John's was dropped from the analysis there remained no differences even approaching statistical significance. Thus, value-orientations seem unrelated to the presence or absence of local government.

There remained the rather perplexing phenomenon of the unusually low scores on some scales of pupils in communities with weak forms of local government. Scrutiny of the 132 pupils revealed that a disproportionately large number of them were from communities which were very isolated, rather small, and had weak television coverage, factors reported earlier in the present chapter as related to low M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores. Moreover, these communities tended to be in regions where these and D-BB scores were lower. It seems that variables other than "Strength of Municipal Government" may explain these peculiar scores.

"Strength of Municipal Government" is apparently not an important independent variable underlying value-orientation scores.

VIII. REGIONS

Pupils were classified according to the twelve regions into which the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador was, for the present study, divided.

TABLE XXI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THE STRENGTH
OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

Value- Orientation Scale	Strength of Municipal Government			Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 City, Town or Rural District	1 Community or Local Impr- ovement District (132)	2 Unincorporated or Inactive (1268)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
	(690-156)				
M-S	3.97 (3.79)	3.40	3.63	0>1,2	0>1,2
M-H	4.59 (4.42)	4.06	4.31	0>2>1	0,2>1
D-B	5.49 (5.66)	5.58	5.60	nil	nil
D-BB	4.82 (4.90)	4.73	4.97	2>0	nil
F-P	5.53 (5.50)	5.53	5.50	nil	nil
F-Pr	3.12 (3.23)	3.06	3.26	nil	nil
I-L	3.23 (3.14)	2.91	3.19	nil	nil
I-Lg	1.92 (1.92)	1.95	2.00	nil	nil
I-Lb	1.31 (1.23)	.96	1.19	0>2>1	0,2>1

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index I.7 of Appendix C, on page 371.

TABLE XXII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO WHETHER THEIR COMMUNITIES HAVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Value- Orientation Scale	0-1 Local Government (822-156)	2 No Local Government (1268)	Significant Differences (.05)	
			All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.88 (3.72)	3.63	0-1>2	nil
M-H	4.50 (4.35)	4.31	0-1>2	nil
D-B	5.50 (5.64)	5.60	nil	nil
D-BB	4.81 (4.87)	4.97	2>0-1	nil
F-P	5.53 (5.50)	5.50	nil	nil
F-Pr	3.11 (3.20)	3.26	2>0-1	nil
I-L	3.18 (3.10)	3.19	nil	nil
I-Lg	1.92 (1.92)	2.00	nil	nil
I-Lb	1.26 (1.17)	1.19	nil	nil

These regions are described in Appendix C, Index I.8. Region (9) includes, besides St. John's, certain inland settlements and all the non-typical communities geographically in the other eleven regions. Thus, region (9) is closest to the urban end of the peasant-urban continuum. In the following discussion each region will be examined in turn but only the most striking of the significant differences indicated in Table XXIII will be commented upon.

Bell Island

Category (A) in Table XXIII is Bell Island. Here, more than any other region in the province except perhaps St. John's and the other communities in region (9), did pupils choose Mastery rather than the Subject or Harmony orientations. This is as one might expect, since Bell Island is a modern community, a highly-industrialized mining town. Also, apart from Labrador (category 7), pupils in Bell Island scored lowest of the regions on the F-Pr scale, indicating little confidence that the Future would be better than the Present. Perhaps this reflects the grim realities of wholesale permanent layoffs for substantial proportions of miners that took place immediately prior to the administration of the questionnaires. The third striking finding about Bell Island is that next to Labrador its I-Lg scores were lowest of all regions. As mentioned previously this datum suggests the high Lineality of the company town, which is different, as Bell Island's high I-Lb scores indicate, from having a strong desire for the subordinate-superordinate relationship of bureaucracy.

With a few notable exceptions, the scores made by Bell Island pupils were quite similar to those made in nearby Conception Bay (category 2) communities. Bell Island pupils had significantly lower scores than Conception

TABLE XXIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO THE REGIONS OF NEWFOUNDLAND IN WHICH THEY LIVE

Value- Orien- tation Scale	A (110)	B (80)	0 (179)	1 (179)	2 (359)	3 (285)	4 (215)	5 (90)	6 (180)	7 (10)	8 (143)	9 (260)	Significant Differences (.05)
M-S	4.06	3.54	3.46	3.65	3.94	3.58	3.50	3.17	3.48	4.00	3.71	4.28	9>8,6,5,4,3,2,1,0,B A,2>6,5,4,3,1,0,B 1,3,8>5
M-H	4.86	4.15	4.12	4.16	4.63	4.34	4.18	3.86	4.24	4.30	4.29	4.81	A,2,9>8,6,5,4,3,1,0,B 3,6,8>5
D-B	5.45	5.49	5.58	5.67	5.69	5.48	5.92	5.36	5.78	5.70	5.33	5.17	4>9,8,5,3,0,A 2,6>9,8 0,1,3>9
D-BB	4.95	4.89	4.79	4.74	5.08	4.97	5.13	4.87	4.76	5.50	4.79	4.73	4>9,6,1,0 2>9,6,1
F-P	5.40	5.21	5.46	5.52	5.54	5.59	5.38	5.49	5.53	5.10	5.51	5.69	nil
F-Pr	2.84	3.33	3.40	3.34	3.24	3.24	3.29	3.11	3.28	2.70	3.08	2.97	0,1,2,3,4,6>9,A B>A
I-L	3.01	3.38	2.96	3.10	3.39	3.21	2.92	2.87	3.48	1.90	3.13	3.32	6>7,5,4,1,0,A 2>7,5,4,0,A 9>7,5,4,0 B>7,5,4 3>7,4 A,0,1,4,5,8>7
I-Lg	1.63	2.19	2.02	1.97	1.97	2.03	1.95	2.06	2.19	1.50	2.02	1.85	6>9,4,2,A B>9,A 0,1,2,3,4,5,8>A
I-Lb	1.38	1.19	.93	1.14	1.41	1.27	.98	.80	1.28	.40	1.10	1.47	9>8,7,5,4,3,1,0,B 2>8,7,5,4,1,0 A>8,7,5,4,0 3,6>7,5,4,0 B,1,8>7,5

Note: These regions are difficult to describe briefly. Complete details are contained in Index I.8 of Appendix C, on page 371.

Bay pupils on the F-Pr, I-Lg and I-L scales. Reasons for the first two have already been suggested, that for the I-L difference will be discussed below under Conception Bay.

Channel

Region (B) is Channel, the value-orientation scores of whose pupils were rather typical of Newfoundland pupils generally except the relatively high value placed on Individualism as opposed to Lineality, specifically Intergenerational Lineality. The scores of Channel pupils were almost as high as those of pupils in the Northwest Coast region on the I-L and I-Lg scales.

Southwest Coast

Category (0) communities are those along the Southwest Coast from Grand le Pierre to Isle aux Morts inclusive, but excluding the three rather different communities of Milltown, Morrisville and Head Bay D'Espoir. Here, in sharp contrast to the category (9) industrial communities, pupils had the highest F-Pr scores in the province, indicating high hopes for the Future as opposed to the Present. Moreover, except for Labrador and the Northeast Coast, the I-Lb scores were lowest, perhaps indicating more than anything else the value placed on the security of work in a large-scale organization. Next to the Northeast Coast also, were M-S and M-H scores lowest of the province.

Conception Bay

The value-orientations of pupils in category (2) or Conception Bay communities are noteworthy in that they preferred Lineality, specifically Bureaucratic Lineality, over Individualism less than pupils in any other

region of the province except perhaps St. John's. Does this indicate a stronger than usual desire not to work for someone else, especially not for the large business enterprise? Also higher than usual was the Conception Bay pupil's preference for Doing over Being or Being-in-Becoming, and for the Mastery value orientation.

Trinity Bay, and Placentia Bay including the Burin Peninsula

Pupils from Trinity Bay (category 3), and Placentia Bay and the Burin Peninsula (category 1) exhibited no unusual value-orientations. Rather were these pupils perhaps more than those in any other regions most typical of the total sample.

Bonavista Bay

Pupils in the Bonavista Bay or category (4) region are noteworthy in that more than those in any other region did they prefer Doing over Being and, next to Labrador, Doing over Being-in-Becoming. This would appear to indicate an unusually high value placed by those in that region on hard work and striving, and is in sharp contrast to the values of the pupils in region (9).

The Northeast Coast

Pupils in communities along the Northeast Coast from Joe Batt's Arm to Harbour Deep (region 5) chose Mastery over Subject and Harmony less often than in any other region in Newfoundland. They tended to prefer the Subject-to-Nature rather than the Mastery-over-Nature orientation. Moreover, next to Labrador pupils, they chose Bureaucratic Lineality over Individualism more than the pupils in other Newfoundland regions, apparently indicating the very high value placed on the security of work in a large-scale organization.

The Northwest Coast

Pupils in region (6) or the Northwest Coast from Norris Point to St. Anthony, including Griquet and Main Brook, differed on the average from pupils in other regions in two ways. They valued Doing more highly and Being less highly than pupils in all regions but Bonavista Bay, and secondly, they valued Individualism over Lineality, especially Intergenerational Lineality, more than pupils in all other regions.

Labrador

Although there were only ten pupils in Labrador excluding Happy Valley (region 7), and consequently differences were not significant statistically, yet, the average scores of these pupils were highest on D-BB, lowest on F-P, F-Pr, I-L, I-Lg and I-Lb, indicating high value on Doing, low confidence in the future, and emphasis on Lineality.

West Coast

Pupils in region (8), or the West Coast from Cape Ray to Reidville and the Bay of Islands excluding Corner Brook, are noteworthy in that their D-B scores were lowest of all pupils except those in region (9).

Region (9)

Region (9), including St. John's, inland and non-typical communities geographically located in the other regions, consists largely of industrial communities. Of all the regions, region (9) pupils scored highest on M-S, second-highest on M-H, lowest on D-B and D-BB, highest on F-P, third-lowest on F-Pr, highest on I-Lb. When compared with scores made by pupils in St. John's alone, as indicated in Table XIII, none of these scores were as extreme as they would be without the non-city pupils.

IX. SUMMARY

This final section of the present chapter will attempt to synthesize for each of the value-orientation scales the findings presented previously in detail. The purpose underlying the synthesis is to find out if, and to what extent, the underlying hypothesis has been borne out, namely, that as the characteristics of communities vary from the peasant to the urban, the value-orientations of the pupils therein will also vary from those supposedly peasant to those supposedly urban.

The Man-Nature Problem

As set forth in preceding sections and as summarized in Table XII, the predictions for the M-S scale received unequivocal support. Higher scores were associated with non-fishing communities and communities where most homes had television sets. Pupils' M-S scores varied directly with population, degree of industrialization, strength of transportation link and proportion Anglican. Whether there was municipal government in the community was not, however, related to any of the value-orientation scales.

Similarly, did the findings for the M-H scale vary with population, proportion fishing, proportion Anglican and generally with industrialization. Scores were higher where most homes had television and lower where transportation links were weaker. Certain regions of Newfoundland, particularly the Northeast and Southwest coasts, scored unusually low on both scales, whereas the more urban areas, particularly St. John's, Bell Island and Conception Bay, were associated with higher scores.

The Activity Problem

Findings on the D-B scale were not entirely as hypothesized. It seems

to be the community that is neither very urban nor very peasant whose pupils value Doing most, Being least. On the population variable, St. John's pupils had lowest D-B scores, but second-lowest were those of pupils in communities of fewer than two hundred people. Many of these differences were statistically significant. Similarly, when communities were cast on a continuum according to strength of transportation link, it was the intermediate or transitional communities which had highest D-B scores. Again emphasizing this curvilinear tendency of the curve to peak in the center were findings on the other variables. Although differences were not statistically significant, communities that were either all-fishing or non-fishing had scores higher than those partly-fishing, and places at the extremes of industrialization and television coverage had lower scores than those in mean positions. Regionally, D-B scores were highest in Bonavista Bay and along the Northwest Coast, lowest in industrial towns and the southern half of the West Coast. For the D-BB scale, there seems to be no clearly discernible pattern in the few differences that did exist. Except for the lower scores of St. John's pupils, the low scores of pupils in places of 300-499 population, and the finding that outside St. John's pupils in communities well-covered by television had higher scores than those where there was no television, there were no statistically significant differences.

The Time Problem

Pupils in communities with 200-299 population had F-P scores higher than those in larger and perhaps those in smaller communities. That there were no other statistically significant differences for community scales suggests that there is little if any relationship between the position on peasant-urban continua of a pupil's community and his F-P scores.

The findings indicate rather consistently, although there are exceptions, that, contrary to prediction, the more urban the pupil's community the lower his F-Pr scores. Pupils in St. John's and to a lesser degree Bell Island had lower scores than did pupils in smaller communities. Scores were lower in non-fishing communities, and they tended to decrease as transportation link improved. Similarly, in communities well-covered by television, scores were somewhat lower than where coverage was poorer. Thus, lower Future orientations, higher Present orientations were to some extent associated with the urban influences.

The Relational Problem

Contrary to hypothesis, pupils having lower I-Lg scores were generally from communities closer to the urban end of the continuum--non-fishing, more industrialized, less than half Anglican, and well-covered by television. Population and strength of transportation link seemed not to be related, although pupils in the one-company towns of Bell Island and Windsor had scores lower than those in smaller communities, and pupils in places blocked a week or so each year had scores lower than those more isolated or less isolated. Relationships, then, were weak, opposite to those predicted, and not entirely in accord with the peasant-urban model.

I-Lb scores varied directly with strength of transportation link, with industrialization, and, for the most part, with population, St. John's pupils having highest scores. Scores varied more or less inversely with proportion Anglican and proportion fishing. Where most homes had television, scores were higher. However, where three-quarters of the men fished, pupils tended to have higher scores (not statistically significant) than where only half fished. Also, very tiny settlements had higher scores

(statistically significant) than those somewhat larger. These may be related to the finding in Chapter XIII that pupils whose fathers were fishermen operating alone or with one or more sharemen tended to have unusually high I-Lb scores. With these exceptions, high I-Lb scores tend usually to be associated with the urban end of the continuum, lower scores with the peasant end.

That there were few statistically significant differences for the I-L scale seems due partly to the constituent I-Lg and I-Lb scales being related in opposite ways to the peasant-urban continuum. I-L scores were highest in St. John's, lowest in Bell Island, and tended to become higher again in the tiny communities. Scores were highest in least isolated communities. Thus, most of the few statistically significant differences supported the prediction.

Which Variables Are Important?

It must be stressed that the present study was not designed to answer authoritatively the question of which variables are the crucial ones. For example, although six community variables were found to be related to M-S scores, it was not possible to assess the extent to which some of these are largely or wholly a reflection of other more crucial ones. This is because analysis of variance had to be used without random sampling and because the value-orientation scales as measuring devices were usually too crude to discriminate among the small number of respondents found in one category of an independent variable. One could not, for instance, hold population, degree of industrialization, proportion Anglican, television coverage, and strength of transportation link constant

to explore the effects upon pupils' scores of varying proportion fishing. With population constant, proportion fishing may or may not be related to M-S scores. Further research must explore the effects of specific variables.

However, this study does test the validity of Redfield's model in explaining differences in value-orientations, and it does identify for further research certain of the more promising variables and value-orientation scales.

CHAPTER X

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

This chapter presents the findings relevant to Hypothesis II which deals with the expected relationships between family characteristics and pupil value-orientations. As stated in Chapter VII, Hypothesis II reads:

The less involved their families are in the traditional fishing village and the more in modern urban society, as measured by parental occupation, education, vertical mobility and travel, then (a) the more often will high school pupils choose the Mastery-over-Nature value-orientation and the less often the Subject-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature orientations; (b) the more often will they choose Doing and the less often Being and Being-in-Becoming; (c) the more often Future and the less often Past and Present; and (d) the more often the Individualistic and the less often the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal value-orientation.

Table XXIV, an overview of the chapter, while indicating powerful support for section (a) of Hypothesis II, suggests relationships between most family characteristics and most of the other value-orientations to be less powerful and less often in agreement with the predictions.

I. FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Peasant-Urban Occupation Index

Pupils were divided according to the occupation of their fathers into the eleven categories of Appendix C, Index II.1. Since several frequencies were small, some adjacent categories, between which there were no statistically significant differences, were combined to yield six classifications. Table XXV sets forth the means on the various value-orientation scales and indicates the pairs between which the differences are statistically significant.

TABLE XXIV

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESED RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN VALUE-ORIENTATION SCORES AND FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

Family Characteristic	Value-Orientation Scale									
	M-S ^a	M-H	D-B	D-BB	F-P	F-Pr	I-L	I-Lg	I-Lb	
Father's Occupation--Peasant-Urban Occupation Index	Yes ^b	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	No	-	
Father's Occupation--Superordinate Index	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Father's Occupation--Present Status	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Mother's Premarital Occupation	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	No	-	-	-	
Father's Education	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	No	-	
Mother's Education	Yes	Yes	No	-	-	No	-	No	-	
Father's Travels--U.S. Bases	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	
Father's Travels--Elsewhere in Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Father's Travels--Outside Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Father's Travels--Years Overseas	Yes	-	-	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	
Parental Mobility--Peasant-Urban Index	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Father's Previous Residential Experience	Yes	-	-	YN	-	-	-	-	Yes	
Mother's Premarital Residence--Childhood Known	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Mother's Premarital Residence--Childhood Unknown	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Notes: (a) The meanings of the M-S and other scales are amplified in Table II on page 159.

(b) Yes means that statistically significant differences were all in the predicted direction, YN that statistically significant differences were divided almost equally between those in the predicted direction and those in the opposite direction, No that all such differences were in the direction opposite to that predicted. The - means there were no statistically significant differences.

TABLE XXV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING
TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION: PEASANT-URBAN OCCUPATION INDEX

Value- Orientation Scale	Father's Occupation: Peasant-Urban Occupation Index					Significant Differences (.05)	
	6-9 (229-62)	5 (590-67)	4 (513-13)	3 (230-2)	B-1-2 (121-1)	0 (316-3)	All Pupils Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.17 (3.99)	3.83 (3.74)	3.71 (3.69)	3.57 (3.56)	3.62 (3.62)	3.33 (3.32)	$\begin{cases} 6-9 > 5, 4, 3, B-1-2, 0 \\ 5 > 3, 0 \\ 4, 3 > 0 \end{cases}$
M-H	4.62 (4.41)	4.54 (4.46)	4.37 (4.36)	4.21 (4.19)	4.23 (4.21)	4.13 (4.12)	$\begin{cases} 5, 6-9 > 4, 3, B-1-2, 0 \\ 4 > 0 \end{cases}$
D-B	5.42	5.51	5.70	5.67	5.50	5.50	nil not tested
D-BB	4.73	4.86	5.04	4.89	5.01	4.89	nil not tested
F-P	5.42	5.56	5.54	5.44	5.44	5.56	nil not tested
F-Pr	2.93 (3.08)	3.11 (3.14)	3.27 (3.27)	3.27 (3.28)	3.25 (3.26)	3.33 (3.34)	$\begin{cases} 0 > 6-9, 5 \\ 3, 4 > 6-9 \end{cases}$ nil
I-L	3.16	3.13	3.12	3.30	3.28	3.24	nil not tested
I-Lg	1.86 (1.88)	1.84 (1.82)	1.99 (1.98)	2.15 (2.15)	2.08 (2.08)	2.08 (2.08)	$\begin{cases} 3 > 6-9, 5 \\ 0, B-1-2, 4 > 5 \end{cases}$
I-Lb	1.30 (1.19)	1.29 (1.26)	1.13 (1.11)	1.16 (1.15)	1.19 (1.19)	1.15 (1.14)	5, 6-9 > 4 nil

Note: The categories used for Father's Occupation: Peasant-Urban Occupation Index are difficult to describe briefly. Complete details are contained in Index II.1 of Appendix C, on page 372. In the body of the table, numbers in parentheses refer to means of pupils excluding St. John's. In the heading, the first number in parentheses indicates all pupils in that category, the second the St. John's pupils there. Significant differences (.05) between pairs of means were identified only if an F test had revealed statistically significant overall variation. "Nil" refers to an F not statistically significant (.05). For family variables most F tests that were statistically significant were significant beyond the .01 level, the most stringent level for which tables of F were available.

The Man-Nature problem. On the M-S scale all differences were found to be in the hypothesized direction. The mean score of the children of fishermen not otherwise employed (category 0) was lowest, while scores of children of fishermen working at other jobs part of the year (3) were significantly higher, those of children whose fathers were year-round blue collar workers (5) still higher, and those of children of white collar workers and professionals (6) highest of all. Scores of children of non-fishing strong seasonal workers (4) were significantly higher than those of the children of fishermen not otherwise employed. When the analysis was performed excluding St. John's pupils, the statistical significance of the differences persisted in all but two comparisons. In these two cases the loss seems attributable more to reduction in sample size than to diminished difference between means.

Findings for the M-H scale, although less pronounced, were also as hypothesized. While omitting St. John's pupils meant eliminating a portion of the sample of full-time white collar and blue collar workers that was both sizable and very highly Mastery-oriented, the statistically significant differences remaining point out that outside St. John's the children of fishermen have lower M-H scores than those of fathers in more urban occupations.

Thus, for both scales, all statistically significant differences both including and excluding St. John's pupils were as predicted.

The Activity problem. No statistically significant differences on either the D-B or D-BB scales were found among pupils grouped according to father's occupation. That children of strong seasonal workers (4) and of

fishermen with other seasonal employment (3) tended to have the highest D-B scores provides a modicum of support for the notion previously mentioned that Doing is more highly valued among groups in intermediate rather than in extreme positions along the peasant-urban continuum.

The Time problem. No differences statistically significant or otherwise were observable for the F-P scale. The differences that had significance on the F-Pr scale seem to an important extent to have been reflections of the fact that St. John's pupils, particularly those whose fathers were full-time workers, especially of the white collar or professional variety, were more Present-oriented, less Future-oriented than pupils elsewhere in Newfoundland. When the analysis was confined to pupils outside St. John's, there were no statistically significant differences. Yet, since the magnitudes of the differences were but slightly reduced, the loss of significance seems attributable partly to sample attrition. It seems that the children of full-time blue collar, white collar and professional workers were oriented more to the present less to the future than those whose fathers were engaged in more peasant occupations.

The Relational problem. While there were no statistically significant differences on the overall I-L scale and but a slight suggestion that those in the less urban occupations were more Individualistically-oriented, there were differences on the two sub-scales. For the I-Lg sub-scale the several differences indicate that children of modern full-time workers both of the blue and the white collar varieties were less Individualistic than children of the more peasant fishermen or seasonal workers, and more prone to value the leaving of decisions to community and family leaders--Intergenerational Lineality. These differences on the I-Lg scale persisted with St. John's

pupils included in the analysis and without them.

On the I-Lb scale, that there were no statistically significant differences once St. John's pupils were omitted from the data, indicates that the differences with St. John's included were largely St. John's-outport differences, with outport students more inclined to prefer Bureaucratic Lineality than Individualism.

Other Occupation Indices

When pupils were grouped according to whether their fathers were employed at their usual job or were sick, dead, laid-off, etc., there were no statistically significant differences in value-orientations among the groups, as Table XXVI indicates, and no observable trends.

Pupils were also divided into two groups depending on whether their father had people working under his direction or whether he did not. Those with fathers superordinates had significantly higher M-S scores and a suggestion of higher M-H scores. As Table XXVII indicates, they may also have the tendency to choose Doing less often than Being-in-Becoming or Being than those whose fathers are not superordinates.

II. MOTHER'S OCCUPATION BEFORE MARRIAGE

The eleven categories for mother's premarital occupation were, after preliminary analysis, collapsed into the five categories of Table XXVIII to eliminate low frequencies but not statistically significant differences.

The Man-Nature Problem

Pupils whose mothers had professional, white collar, or full-time blue collar jobs not connected with the fishery, had M-S scores and M-H scores significantly higher than those who had worked traditionally as

TABLE XXVI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION: PRESENT STATUS

Value- Orientation Scale	B (1788)	Father's Occupation: Present Status								Significant Differences (.05)	
		0 (87)	1 (6)	2 (70)	3 (24)	4 (6)	5 (8)	6 (5)	7 (1)		8 (18)
M-S	3.72	3.62	4.17	3.81	3.79	4.00	3.63	4.40	3.00	3.44	nil
M-H	4.38	4.53	5.17	4.51	4.63	4.17	4.38	4.20	7.00	4.00	nil
D-B	5.55	5.86	5.67	5.64	5.88	5.33	5.75	5.40	7.00	5.44	nil
D-BB	4.91	4.77	4.83	4.94	5.13	5.00	4.38	5.40	4.00	5.22	nil
F-P	5.50	5.68	5.33	5.56	5.42	6.50	4.88	5.60	6.00	5.79	nil
F-Pr	3.19	3.34	3.17	3.07	3.04	4.00	3.13	3.00	2.00	3.16	nil
I-L	3.18	3.14	2.67	3.34	2.75	3.67	2.63	3.00	5.00	2.63	nil
I-Lg	1.98	1.90	1.33	2.01	1.71	2.33	1.50	1.60	2.00	1.63	nil
I-Lb	1.21	1.24	1.33	1.33	1.04	1.33	1.13	1.40	3.00	1.00	nil

Note: The categories used for Father's Occupation: Present Status are difficult to describe briefly. Complete details are contained in Index II.3 of Appendix C, on page 373.

TABLE XXVII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION: SUPERORDINATE INDEX

Value- Orientation Scale	Father's Occupation: Superordinate Index		Significant Differences (.05)	
	B: Superordinate (467-60)	O: Non-Superordinate (1497-81)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.91 (3.82)	3.65 (3.60)	B>O	B>O
M-H	4.49	4.37	nil	not tested
D-B	5.47	5.58	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.77 (4.82)	4.94 (4.97)	O>B	nil
F-P	5.46	5.54	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.19	3.18	nil	not tested
I-L	3.17	3.18	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.96	1.97	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.21	1.21	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.2 of Appendix C, on page 373.

TABLE XXVIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO MOTHER'S OCCUPATION BEFORE MARRIAGE

Value- Orientation Scale	Mother's Occupation before Marriage					Significant Differences (.05)	
	6-9 (149-32)	4-5 (372-52)	2-3 (29-0)	1 (651-28)	B (825-43)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.97 (3.84)	3.96 (3.88)	3.66 (3.66)	3.61 (3.54)	3.65 (3.60)	4-5, 6-9>1, B	4-5>1, B
M-H	4.72 (4.61)	4.61 (4.53)	4.18 (4.18)	4.24 (4.20)	4.34 (4.29)	4-5, 6-9>1, B	4-5, 6-9>1, B
D-B	5.43	5.52	5.69	5.65	5.53	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.87	4.94	5.00	4.97	4.86	nil	not tested
F-P	5.53	5.59	5.55	5.49	5.51	nil	not tested
F-Pr	2.93 (2.99)	3.01 (3.11)	3.62 (3.62)	3.25 (3.26)	3.29 (3.31)	{B, 1>6-9, 4-5 2-3>6-9	B>6-9, 4-5
I-L	3.23	3.18	3.35	3.18	3.17	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.84	1.91	2.00	1.99	2.00	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.38	1.27	1.35	1.19	1.17	nil	not tested

Note: The categories used for Mother's Occupation before Marriage are difficult to describe briefly. Complete details are contained in Index II.4 of Appendix C, on page 373.

house servants, or who had not worked at all prior to marriage. Although numbers were too few to attain statistical significance, the children of mothers employed prior to marriage at the fishery had M-H and M-S scores comparable to those employed as house servants.

The Activity Problem

Although there were no statistically significant differences on scales of the Activity problem, there was that same suggestion from the data that those in the intermediate categories tended to emphasize Doing over Being more than those in the extremes.

The Time Problem

No differences were found for the F-P scale. On the F-Pr scale, however, the scores of children with mothers premaritally employed as house servants or at the fishery or not employed, were significantly higher than those in full-time white collar or blue collar positions. With St. John's pupils eliminated from the data the differences were still largely maintained, although in the two most urban categories the elimination of a number of highly Present-oriented pupils increased the F-Pr means and thereby decreased differences somewhat.

The Relational Problem

No statistically significant differences were found for the scales of the Relational problem. There were indications that, as with fathers, it was the mothers of more peasant premarital occupation whose children tended to place most emphasis on Individualism rather than Intergenerational Lineality, but least on Individualism rather than Bureaucratic Lineality.

III. PARENTAL EDUCATION

Pupils were grouped according to father's education and according to mother's education. Both, especially mother's education, proved to be useful variables. After preliminary analysis using the original six categories, four fairly large groupings emerged between which there were statistically significant differences: those who had at least finished high school, those with some high school education, those with grade 6, 7, 8, or equivalent, and those functionally or completely illiterate with grade five or less.

The Man-Nature Problem

On both the M-S scale and the M-H scale mean scores of pupils increased directly with mother's education and with father's education, and all statistically significant differences were in the predicted direction. Particularly striking were the high scores of those whose parents had finished high school and the low scores of the children of illiterates. Also, mother's education seems to be a more discriminating variable than does father's education.

The Activity Problem

On the D-B scale, scores of children whose mothers had completed high school were significantly lower than those of mothers with less education. The means for father's education, although differences were not statistically significant, exhibited a similar pattern, with children of more highly-educated parents--those closest to the urban end of the continuum--being less Doing-oriented and more Being-oriented than others. There seem to be some indications that D-B scores dropped also at the illiterate end, the peasant end, of the continuum.

TABLE XXIX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO FATHER'S EDUCATION

Value-Orientation Scale	Father's Education				Significant Differences (.05)
	4-6 Finished High School (156-46)	3 Some High School (291-41)	2 Grades 6-8 or Equivalent (1094-57)	0-1 Functionally Illiterate (542-11)	
M-S	4.26 (4.11)	4.01 (3.92)	3.68 (3.63)	3.51 (3.50)	$\begin{Bmatrix} 3,4-6>2,0-1 \\ 2>0-1 \end{Bmatrix}$ 3,4-6>2,0-1
M-H	4.80 (4.69)	4.48 (4.38)	4.37 (4.31)	4.26 (4.25)	$\begin{Bmatrix} 4-6>3,2,0-1 \\ 3>0-1 \end{Bmatrix}$ 4-6>3,2,0-1
D-B	5.28	5.64	5.59	5.54	nil not tested
D-BB	4.77	4.95	4.90	4.93	nil not tested
F-P	5.46	5.52	5.50	5.56	nil not tested
F-Pr	3.02	3.13	3.22	3.24	nil not tested
I-L	3.23	3.14	3.17	3.22	nil not tested
I-Lg	1.85 (1.83)	1.87 (1.88)	1.97 (1.97)	2.05 (2.06)	0-1>4-6,3 0-1>4-6,3
I-Lb	1.39 (1.26)	1.28 (1.25)	1.20 (1.18)	1.17 (1.15)	4-6>2,0-1 nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.6 of Appendix C,
on page 374.

TABLE XXX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO MOTHER'S EDUCATION

Value- Orientation Scale	Mother's Education				Significant Differences (.05)
	4-6 Finished High School (170-41)	3 Some High School (357-40)	2 Grades 6-8 or Equivalent (1156-61)	0-1 Functionally Illiterate (401-14)	
M-S	4.09 (3.99)	3.83 (3.72)	3.69 (3.63)	3.58 (3.56)	{4-6>3, 2, 0-1 3>0-1} 4-6>3, 2, 0-1
M-H	4.75 (4.66)	4.48 (4.38)	4.36 (4.31)	4.23 (4.21)	{4-6>3, 2, 0-1 3>0-1} 4-6>3, 2, 0-1
D-B	5.21 (5.33)	5.62 (5.71)	5.62 (5.66)	5.49 (5.51)	0-1, 2, 3>4-6 2, 3>4-6
D-BB	4.77	5.02	4.89	4.89	nil not tested
F-P	5.54	5.53	5.50	5.53	nil not tested
F-Pr	2.85 (2.95)	3.06 (3.13)	3.20 (3.21)	3.45 (3.49)	{0-1>4-6, 3, 2 2>4-6} 0-1>4-6, 3, 2
I-L	3.29	3.09	3.20	3.19	nil not tested
I-Lg	1.82 (1.81)	1.87 (1.86)	1.99 (1.99)	2.06 (2.06)	{0-1>4-6, 3 2>3} {0-1>4-6, 3 2>3}
I-Lb	1.47 (1.38)	1.22 (1.17)	1.21 (1.19)	1.13 (1.11)	4-6>3, 2, 0-1 nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.7 of Appendix C, on page 374.

D-BB scores of high school graduates' children seem lower than those of children of less well educated parents.

The Time Problem

For the F-P scale no differences even approaching significance were found. On the F-Pr scale means decreased regularly as mother's education increased, with most of the differences being statistically significant. For father's education the same pattern was found, although no differences attained statistical significance.

The Relational Problem

While the overall I-L scale was again not productive, the sub-scales were. As parental education increased, so did pupil I-Lg scores in every comparison, with several differences, especially for mother's education, being statistically significant. The reverse relationship, as shown in Tables XXIX and XXX, was found for I-Lb scores, with means increasing with increased education, indicating that higher I-Lb scores are associated with the urban end of the continuum, higher I-Lg scores with the peasant end.

IV. FATHER'S TRAVELS

Four indices were used to measure the extent of father's travels-- years spent working on U.S. bases, years spent working elsewhere in Newfoundland than the present community or the U.S. bases, years working outside Newfoundland, and years overseas in wartime. The second and especially the third variables were not productive. Indications are that the other two variables tended to discriminate in much the same way as the other family variables, but did so rather faintly.

The Man-Nature Problem

Table XXXI indicates the presence of a direct and predicted relationship between father's years on the U.S. bases and pupil M-S and M-H scores. Among war veterans, there was a direct relationship, supported by statistically significant differences, between years overseas and their children's M-S scores, and an indication of a similar although less pronounced relationship with M-H scores. Table XXXIII suggests, although differences were not statistically significant, that children of fathers who had spent many years working outside Newfoundland scored somewhat higher on the M-S and M-H scales.

The Activity Problem

Children of long-service war veterans had significantly higher D-BB scores than those of fathers with 1-2 years service. Their D-B scores also were somewhat higher, although differences were not statistically significant. Children whose fathers had worked for many years on U.S. bases had higher D-BB if not higher D-B scores. No differences were apparent on the two other scales. In all, the children of travelled fathers seem to have had slightly higher D-BB and D-B scores.

The Time Problem

The urban tendency to have lower F-Pr scores may be apparent in the significantly lower scores on this value-orientation scale made by children whose fathers had spent many years working outside Newfoundland.

The Relational Problem

That father's travels may be related directly to I-Lb scores is supported by the statistically significant differences for years working on the U.S. bases and by differences in the same direction, although not

TABLE XXXI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO FATHER'S TRAVELS: YEARS WORKING ON U.S. BASES

Value- Orientation Scale	Father's Travels: Years on U.S. Bases			Significant Differences (.05)	
	7-9 10-20 Yrs. (107-6)	1-6 1-7 Yrs. (491-23)	0 0 Yrs. (1324-116)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.16 (4.16)	3.81 (3.78)	3.63 (3.54)	$\begin{cases} 7-9 > 1-6, 0 \\ 1-6 > 0 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} 7-9 > 1-6, 0 \\ 1-6 > 0 \end{cases}$
M-H	4.57 (4.65)	4.51 (4.46)	4.32 (4.23)	1-6 > 0	1-6, 7-9 > 0
D-B	5.59	5.58	5.54	nil	not tested
D-BB	5.16	4.88	4.89	nil	not tested
F-P	5.72	5.52	5.51	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.29	3.26	3.19	nil	not tested
I-L	3.18	3.26	3.16	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.80	1.98	1.98	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.40 (1.36)	1.28 (1.27)	1.18 (1.14)	1-6, 7-9 > 0	1-6, 7-9 > 0

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.8 of Appendix C, on page 374.

TABLE XXXII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
FATHER'S TRAVELS: YEARS WORKING ELSEWHERE IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Value- Orien- tation Scale	Father's Travels: Years Working Elsewhere in Newfoundland										Significant Differences (.05)
	9 20 Yrs. (144)	8 15 Yrs. (135)	7 10 Yrs. (140)	6 7 Yrs. (100)	5 5 Yrs. (127)	4 4 Yrs. (117)	3 3 Yrs. (163)	2 2 Yrs. (184)	1 1 Yr. (152)	0 0 Yrs. (573)	
M-S	3.64	3.74	3.76	3.42	3.81	3.78	3.72	3.75	3.60	3.74	nil
M-H	4.27	4.52	4.42	4.15	4.56	4.28	4.21	4.36	4.32	4.41	nil
D-B	5.59	5.63	5.42	5.96	5.68	5.61	5.51	5.53	5.51	5.54	nil
D-BB	4.91	5.02	4.71	5.06	5.00	4.88	4.95	4.85	4.76	4.94	nil
F-P	5.59	5.58	5.28	5.39	5.67	5.36	5.47	5.43	5.64	5.57	nil
F-Pr	3.21	3.23	3.11	3.21	3.33	3.14	3.36	3.23	3.12	3.19	nil
I-L	3.37	3.08	3.10	3.13	3.06	3.18	3.12	3.24	3.29	3.16	nil
I-Lg	2.10	1.84	1.91	2.01	1.87	2.01	1.88	1.92	2.00	2.00	nil
I-Lb	1.24	1.24	1.19	1.12	1.19	1.17	1.26	1.32	1.29	1.17	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.9 of Appendix C, on page 375.

TABLE XXXIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING
TO FATHER'S TRAVELS: YEARS WORKING OUTSIDE NEWFOUNDLAND

Value- Orientation Scale	Father's Travels: Years Outside Newfoundland				Significant Differences (.05)	
	7-9 > 7 Yrs. (56-11)	1-6 1-7 Yrs. (362-20)	0 0 Yrs. (1477-113)			
				All Pupils	Omitting St. John's	
M-S	4.04	3.72	3.69	nil	not tested	
M-H	4.75	4.33	4.37	nil	not tested	
D-B	5.50	5.40	5.59	nil	not tested	
D-BB	4.84	4.88	4.90	nil	not tested	
F-P	5.34	5.50	5.54	nil	not tested	
F-Pr	2.77 (2.84)	3.29 (3.35)	3.21 (3.24)	0, 1-6 > 7-9	nil	
I-L	3.23	3.16	3.18	nil	not tested	
I-Lg	1.79	1.98	1.96	nil	not tested	
I-Lb	1.45	1.19	1.21	nil	not tested	

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.10 of Appendix C, on page 375.

TABLE XXXIV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO FATHER'S TRAVELS: YEARS OVERSEAS IN WARTIME

Value- Orientation Scale	Father's Travels: Years Overseas in Wartime				Significant Differences (.05)
	6-B > 5 Yrs. (79-14)	3-5 3-5 Yrs. (168-27)	1-2 1-2 Yrs. (74-5)	0 0 Yrs. (1577-100)	
M-S	4.14 (4.02)	3.92 (3.85)	3.34 (3.30)	3.68 (3.61)	All Pupils { 3-5,6-B > 1-2,0 0 > 1-2 } 3-5,6-B > 1-2,0
M-H	4.51	4.49	4.19	4.37	nil not tested
D-B	5.68	5.32	5.38	5.58	nil not tested
D-BB	5.07 (5.16)	4.74 (4.87)	4.53 (4.46)	4.93 (4.96)	0,6-B > 1-2 0,6-B > 1-2
F-P	5.51	5.53	5.47	5.52	nil not tested
F-Pr	3.23	3.01	3.04	3.23	nil not tested
I-L	3.16	3.18	3.03	3.18	nil not tested
I-Lg	1.88	1.83	1.93	1.98	nil not tested
I-Lb	1.28	1.35	1.12	1.20	nil not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.11 of Appendix C, on page 375.

statistically significant, on the other measures. Non-statistically significant differences also suggest somewhat faintly an inverse relationship between pupil I-Lg scores and father's travels.

V. MOBILITY INDICES

Four indices are especially related to the concept of parental mobility along the peasant-urban continuum. On the first, as set forth in Table XXXV, father's occupation is compared with that of both grandfathers. Preliminary analysis brought forth three useful groupings--the (B-0-I) or upward mobile group, where father's occupation is more urban than that of one or both grandfathers, the non-mobile group (2) where father's occupation and grandfathers' are similar, and the downward mobile group (3-4), where father's occupation is less urban. The second index, as shown in Table XXXVI, is a comparison of father's previous settlements of residence or work with the family's present residence. Here categories (4) and (5-6) indicate pupils whose fathers have lived and worked in places more urban than their present residence, categories (2) and (3) indicate fathers of previous residence the same or similar to the present, whereas category (0-1) indicates previous residence to have been in less urban areas. Thus, there are categories for downward residential mobility, no mobility, and upward mobility, respectively. The third and fourth indices deal with the previous residence of the mother. Table XXXVII is based on data more complete than that of Table XXXVIII. For the latter, all that is known about the mother is the settlement or settlements where she worked before marriage, whereas for the former her childhood residence is also known. For both tables, categories (4) and (5) contain children of mothers whose prior residence has been more urban, that is they are downward mobile. Categories

TABLE XXXV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING
TO PARENTAL MOBILITY ALONG PEASANT-URBAN OCCUPATION INDEX

Value- Orientation Scale	Parental Mobility			Significant Differences (.05)	
	B-0-1 Upward (938-96)	2 No Mobility (763-18)	3-4 Downward (157-14)		
				All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.82 (3.73)	3.55 (3.53)	3.68 (3.64)	B-0-1>2	B-0-1>2
M-H	4.49 (4.41)	4.26 (4.24)	4.49 (4.44)	B-0-1>2	B-0-1>2
D-B	5.57	5.56	5.46	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.95	4.88	4.92	nil	not tested
F-P	5.49	5.57	5.47	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.12	3.29	3.12	nil	not tested
I-L	3.16	3.16	3.30	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.91	2.03	1.99	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.24 (1.20)	1.14 (1.12)	1.31 (1.28)	B-0-1>2	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.5 of Appendix C, on page 376.

TABLE XXXVI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO FATHER'S PREVIOUS RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE

Value- Orientation Scale	Father's Previous Residential Experience					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0-1 Less Urban (167-63)	2 Same (238-33)	3 More Urban (600-34)	4 Still More Urban (575-6)	5-6 Most Urban (357-14)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.92 (3.56)	3.69 (3.56)	3.71 (3.67)	3.61 (3.60)	3.91 (3.87)	{ 5-6>4,3 0-1>4	5-6>4,3,2
M-H	4.44	4.33	4.36	4.37	4.42	nil	not tested
D-B	5.18 (5.44)	5.62 (5.72)	5.53 (5.55)	5.70 (5.71)	5.55 (5.59)	2,3,4,5-6>0-1	nil
D-BB	4.55 (4.46)	4.89 (4.96)	4.93 (4.94)	5.03 (5.04)	4.86 (4.90)	2,3,4,5-6>0-1	2,3,4,5-6>0-1
F-P	5.50	5.60	5.53	5.50	5.49	nil	not tested
F-Pr	2.96	3.26	3.19	3.26	3.17	nil	not tested
I-L	3.32	3.16	3.14	3.17	3.18	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.90	2.04	1.95	2.01	1.88	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.42 (1.31)	1.12 (1.03)	1.20 (1.18)	1.17 (1.16)	1.30 (1.28)	{ 0-1>4,3,2 5-6>4,2	0-1,5-6>2

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.12 of Appendix C, on page 376.

TABLE XXXVII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING
TO MOTHER'S PREMARITAL RESIDENCE, WHERE CHILDHOOD SETTLEMENT KNOWN

Value- Orientation Scale	Mother's Premarital Residence					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0-1 Less Urban (155-52)	2 Same (103-26)	3 More Urban (134-5)	4 Still More Urban (67-1)	5 Most Urban (63-5)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.04 (3.83)	3.66 (3.38)	3.44 (3.39)	3.54 (3.53)	3.67 (3.64)	0-1>4,3,2	nil
M-H	4.59 (4.36)	4.59 (4.30)	4.15 (4.13)	3.88 (3.86)	4.23 (4.18)	0-1,2>4,3	nil
D-B	5.50	5.29	5.56	5.39	5.33	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.80	4.90	4.98	4.85	4.86	nil	not tested
F-P	5.61	5.50	5.51	5.40	5.68	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.17	3.09	3.35	2.97	2.83	nil	not tested
I-L	3.36	3.29	2.96	3.09	3.35	nil	not tested
I-Lg	2.03	2.09	1.90	1.97	1.87	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.34 (1.12)	1.20 (1.09)	1.05 (1.05)	1.10 (1.08)	1.48 (1.47)	5>4,3 0-1>3	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.13 of Appendix C, on page 376.

TABLE XXXVIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS REGROUPED ACCORDING TO SETTLEMENT
OF MOTHER'S PREMARITAL OCCUPATION, WHERE CHILDHOOD SETTLEMENT UNKNOWN

Value- Orientation Scale	Mother's Premarital Residence					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0-1 Less Urban (52-4)	2 Same (291-29)	3 More Urban (181-1)	4 Still More Urban (154-2)	5 Most Urban (177-1)		
						All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.21 (4.21)	3.81 (3.69)	3.57 (3.56)	3.87 (3.87)	3.84 (3.85)	0-1>3	0-1>2,3
M-H	4.77	4.45	4.32	4.55	4.38	nil	not tested
D-B	5.81	5.48	5.69	5.79	5.68	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.67	5.01	5.13	5.01	4.88	nil	not tested
F-P	5.35	5.62	5.51	5.43	5.54	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.17	3.30	3.05	3.18	3.15	nil	not tested
I-L	3.21	3.16	3.22	3.17	3.30	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.94	1.98	1.91	1.89	2.09	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.27	1.19	1.29	1.29	1.22	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index II.14 of Appendix C, on page 377.

(2) and (3) indicate prior residence in the same or similar communities, whereas category (0-1) represents those for whom the present settlement means upward mobility.

The Man-Nature Problem

For the M-S scale, the differences of Table XXXVII suggest that the children of residentially upward mobile mothers were more Mastery-oriented, less Subject-oriented than those of mothers residentially non-mobile or downward mobile. Strong M-S scores were especially apparent for children of people who have moved into St. John's from the outports. Table XXXVIII indicates that mothers living in settlements more urban than those in which they used to work had children with higher M-S scores than those of mothers living in settlements the same as or similar to those in which they worked before marriage. Table XXXVI indicates that when the father had considerable experience living and working in areas more urban than the settlement in which the family is now residing, pupils had stronger M-S scores than when father had not had that kind of experience. Since differences on the M-H scale were less pronounced, these M-S differences may mean more a decrease in the Subject-to-Nature orientation than an increase in Mastery. Table XXXV presents data indicating quite strongly that when fathers were occupationally upward mobile rather than non-mobile when compared to grandfathers, children's M-S scores were higher. There is also the suggestion, based on a persisting but non-statistically significant difference, that when grandfathers were more urbanly occupied than fathers, i.e. when fathers were downward mobile occupationally, children were also more Mastery-oriented than those of non-mobile fathers.

On the M-H scale, similarly, children of occupationally non-mobile fathers had scores lower than those whose fathers were mobile upward or perhaps downward. The lack of other persistent statistically significant M-H differences on the three other mobility measures makes interpretation difficult, although in every case it was the children of residentially upward mobile parents who had, apparently, the high M-H scores.

The Activity Problem

Neither the D-B nor the D-BB scores of pupils whose fathers were occupationally mobile differed from those whose fathers were non-mobile. Nor are there any reliable differences on measures of mother's residential mobility. However, children living in settlements more urban than those where the father used to live or work tended to value Doing less but Being and especially Being-in-Becoming more than children whose fathers were downward mobile or non-mobile residentially.

The Time Problem

None of the differences on the F-P or F-Pr scales were statistically significant. There are indications that pupils whose parents were not mobile may have been less Present-oriented, more Future-oriented than those whose parents had moved up or down along the peasant-urban scale residentially or occupationally.

The Relational Problem

The only statistically significant differences on the Relational problem have to do with the I-Lb sub-scale. Here, children of non-mobiles valued Bureaucratic Lineality over Individualism more than the children of fathers who were occupationally mobile, upward or downward. Similarly, with fathers

non-mobile residentially, children had lowest I-Lb scores, while children of downward mobile mothers may have had higher I-Lb scores.

Upward Mobility, Downward Mobility and No Mobility

From the findings presented three pictures emerge. First, the child of the non-mobile parent tended to have the value-orientations associated with the peasant end of the continuum--lower M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores, higher F-Pr, D-BB and possibly D-B scores, although not the lower I-Lg scores. The child of the upward mobile parent tended to have the scores associated in the study with the urban end of the continuum--higher M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores, lower D-BB and possibly D-B scores, although not the higher I-Lg or lower F-Pr scores. The child of the downward mobile parent presented a more complex less easily predicted picture, but seemed fairly often to occupy an intermediate position between the non-mobile and the upward mobile.

VI. SUMMARY

The findings presented in the foregoing chapter indicate that children of parents toward the urban end of the peasant-urban continuum--full-time blue collar, white collar or professional occupations, superordinate positions, complete high school education or better, possibly with fathers who had long wartime service, if any, or who worked many years on the U.S. bases, or who were probably occupationally and residentially upward mobile--had higher M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores but lower D-B, D-BB, F-Pr and I-Lg scores. On the other hand, children of parents on the peasant end of the continuum--father a fisherman, mother whose occupation before marriage was a domestic or who did not work, parents poorly educated, perhaps illiterate, father untravelled,

parents non-mobile--tended to feel more Subject-to-Nature, more Harmony-with-Nature, less Mastery-over-Nature, to value Doing more but Being and Being-in-Becoming less, to be more Future-oriented, less Present-oriented, to desire Bureaucratic Lineality more, Intergenerational Lineality less than their more urban counterparts.

Some of the independent variables, especially father's occupation and mother's education appear to be more useful in predicting scores on the various value-orientation scales.

CHAPTER XI

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND PUPIL EXPERIENCES

The two previous chapters have noted the strong relationships found between certain pupil value-orientations on the one hand and community characteristics and several parental attributes on the other. This chapter sets forth the findings connecting their value-orientations with other experiences of pupils--the direction on the peasant-urban continuum of their mobility, if any, among communities, their devotion to church activities and their exposure to various mass media.

Hypothesis III predicted:

The greater the personal involvement with modern life, that is, the greater the proportion of their lives spent in industrial areas, the more hours per week spent with the mass media, the less involvement with church activities, then (a) the more often will pupils choose the Mastery-over-Nature value-orientation and the less often the Subject-to-Nature and Harmony-with-Nature orientations; (b) the more often will they choose Doing and the less often Being and Being-in-Becoming; (c) the more often Future and the less often Past and Present; (d) the more often the Individualistic and the less often the Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal value-orientation.

Table XXXIX, which is a highly-simplified overview of the findings to be presented, indicates that some of these variables discriminated effectively with respect to certain of the value-orientations but that only section (a) of Hypothesis III received unequivocal support.

I. PUPIL'S PREVIOUS RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE

Pupils were divided initially into seven groups according to the manner in which the community or communities in which they used to reside compared to those in which they presently resided. Preliminary analysis indicated that these could, without eliminating any statistically significant differences, be

TABLE XXXIX

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES SUPPORT THE HYPOTHEZIZED RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN VALUE-ORIENTATION SCORES AND PUPIL EXPERIENCES

	Value-Orientation Scale									
	M-S ^a	M-H	D-B	D-BB	F-P	F-Pr	I-L	I-Lg	I-Lb	
Pupil Experience										
Pupil's Residential Experience	Yn ^b	-	-	-	No	No	-	-	-	
Watching Television--TV Communities	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	
Listening to Radio	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ny	-	YN	
Attending Movies	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	No	
Reading Newspapers, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Attending Church Services	Yes	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Attending Sunday School	Yes	Yes	No	-	Yes	-	-	-	Yes	
Activity in Church Youth Organizations	-	-	-	-	YN	Ny	Yes	-	Yes	

Notes: (a) The meanings of the M-S and other scales are amplified in Table II on page 159.

(b) Yes means that statistically significant differences were all in the predicted direction, Yn that almost all were as predicted, YN that statistically significant differences were divided almost equally between those in the predicted direction and those in the opposite direction, Ny that the predominance of such differences was not in the predicted direction, and No that all statistically significant differences were in the direction opposite to that predicted. The - means there were no statistically significant differences.

reduced to five--two upward mobile categories (one of more mobility than the other), one non-mobile category, and two indicating downward mobility.

The Man-Nature Problem

The findings for the M-S scale, set forth in Table XL, suggest that pupils who used to live in communities more urban than those in which they were presently living (4-5) had M-S scores higher than had the non-mobiles or upward mobiles. Contrariwise, the twenty-nine upward mobiles of categories (0) and (1) who had moved into St. John's from other less urban areas had extremely high M-S scores, even for St. John's. Although not shown in the table their scores averaged 4.92. There was also an indication from the scores of category (0) pupils that those outside St. John's with prolonged experience in even more peasant areas tended to retain low M-S scores. Just how long and under what conditions would be interesting further study.

Differences in the various groups on the M-H scale, while less spectacular and, omitting St. John's, not statistically significant, supported these observations.

Apparently for the typical grade nine pupil, his value-orientations were related more closely to his previous residential experience than to the direction of mobility. In the previous chapter a closer relationship was found between parental mobility and pupil value-orientations than has been found here between pupil mobility and value-orientations.

The Activity Problem

For the Activity problem indications were that the non-mobile (category 2-3) pupil may be more Doing-oriented, less contemplative (Being-in-Becoming) and perhaps less hedonistic (Being) than the mobile.

TABLE XL

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO PREVIOUS RESIDENTIAL EXPERIENCE

Value- Orientation Scale	Previous Residential Experience					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 Much More Peasant (13-4)	1 More Peasant (144-25)	2-3 Same (1566-82)	4-5 More Urban (336-38)	6 Much More Urban (19-6)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.23 (2.44)	3.90 (3.68)	3.67 (3.63)	3.91 (3.84)	4.00 (3.69)	4-5 > 2-3	$\begin{cases} 4-5 > 2-3, 0 \\ 1, 2-3 > 0 \end{cases}$
M-H	4.31 (3.78)	4.45 (4.29)	4.34 (4.30)	4.54 (4.47)	5.00 (4.85)	4-5, 6 > 2-3	nil
D-B	5.46	5.66	5.56	5.49	5.32	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.54 (4.78)	4.64 (4.73)	4.96 (4.98)	4.78 (4.82)	4.26 (4.23)	2-3 > 4-5, 1	nil
F-P	6.54 (6.67)	5.61 (5.60)	5.53 (5.53)	5.40 (5.35)	4.84 (4.77)	$\begin{cases} 0 > 6, 4-5, 2-3, 1 \\ 1, 2-3 > 6 \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} 0 > 6, 4-5, 2-3, 1 \\ 2-3 > 6, 4-5 \\ 1 > 6 \end{cases}$
F-Pr	3.77 (4.44)	3.23 (3.28)	3.21 (3.24)	3.17 (3.22)	1.95 (2.31)	0, 1, 2-3, 4-5 > 6	$\begin{cases} 0 > 6, 4-5, 2-3, 1 \\ 1, 2-3, 4-5 > 6 \end{cases}$
I-L	3.46	3.37	3.16	3.22	3.53	nil	not tested
I-Lg	2.15	1.98	1.97	1.96	1.68	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.31 (1.11)	1.39 (1.31)	1.18 (1.16)	1.27 (1.24)	1.84 (1.69)	$\begin{cases} 6 > 4-5, 2-3 \\ 1 > 2-3 \end{cases}$	nil

Note: Complete details of the categories of Previous Residential Experience are contained in Index III.1 of Appendix C, on page 377. In the body of the table, numbers in parentheses refer to means of pupils excluding St. John's. In the heading, the first number in parentheses indicates all pupils in that category, the second the St. John's pupils there. Significant differences (.05) between pairs of means were identified only if an F test had revealed statistically significant overall variation. "Nil" refers to an F not statistically significant (.05). For variables of pupil experiences, most F tests that were statistically significant were significant beyond the .01 level, the most stringent level for which tables of F were available.

The Time Problem

On this variable there occurred the only statistically significant differences to date on the F-P scale, other than the previous finding that pupils in communities of 200-299 people were more Future-oriented than those in larger communities and possibly more so than those in smaller ones. Here, the non-mobile pupils (category 2-3) were more Future-oriented than those downward mobile who had moved into smaller, more peasant communities, especially into much more peasant communities, but less Future-oriented than those who had moved into much more urban communities. Focussing on size of means rather than solely on statistically significant differences, it can be seen that means increased progressively from the very downward mobile to the downward mobile, to the non-mobile, to the upward mobile, and to the very upward mobile, with a 1.80 spread between the extremes. Similar relationships on the F-Pr scale, especially the spread between the two extreme groups, support the conclusion that a pupil's Future-orientation is related to his personal experiences of residential mobility.

The Relational Problem

As set forth in Table XL, non-mobile children had low I-Lb scores, while scores of the very downward mobile were highest. Both these agree with the inconclusive findings of the previous chapter about I-Lb scores and parental mobility.

Summary

His own experiences of peasant-urban mobility seem not to be related to the pupil's value-orientations in the same way as are his parents' experiences. The previous chapter indicated that the child of upward mobile parents tended to possess urban value-orientations, he of non-mobile parents more peasant orientations, with the value-orientations of the downward mobile parents' child

more complex but often in between. As developed in the preceding section, a pupil's value-orientations tend backward, in the direction whence he came. Thus, the downward mobile brings with him the higher M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores of the more urban area. However, the most striking characteristic of the pupil who has moved into a more urban community is his higher Future-orientation than that of non-mobile and downward mobile groups, and his lower Past and Present orientations. The non-mobile pupil tends to have higher D-BB and possibly D-B scores.

II. INVOLVEMENT IN CHURCH ACTIVITIES

Assuming that regular attendance at Sunday school, more-than-perfunctory attendance at church services, and perhaps long involvement in church sponsored youth organizations indicated behaviour related more to the peasant than the urban end of the continuum, measures of these variables were related to pupil value-orientations. In Table XLII, pupils are grouped as those who did not usually attend church (category 0), those who attended about one hour a week (1), those two or three hours weekly (2-3), and those from four to seven hours per week. Table XLV indicates two groups--those who usually attended Sunday school (category 0), and those who did not. Table XLVIII groups pupils according to hours per week in church sponsored youth organizations.

Differing patterns of church involvement for boys than for girls--Sunday school attendance, for example--complicated the analysis, particularly since, as Table XLI shows, there were on some value-orientation scales statistically significant differences between boys' scores and girls' scores. To hold constant these boy-girl differences, additional and separate analyses were performed for boys and for girls.

The Man-Nature Problem

Table XLII indicates an inverse relationship between M-S scores and

TABLE XLI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO SEX

Value- Orientation Scale	0: Boys (1097)	1: Girls (993)	Significant Differences (.05)
M-S	3.93	3.50	0>1
M-H	4.50	4.27	0>1
D-B	5.58	5.53	nil
D-BB	4.93	4.88	nil
F-P	5.47	5.57	nil
F-Pr	3.41	2.96	0>1
Pr-P	5.50	5.81	1>0
I-L	3.25	3.11	0>1
I-Lg	2.00	1.94	nil
I-Lb	1.26	1.17	0>1
I-C	2.89	2.77	nil

TABLE XLII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
HOURS PER WEEK CLAIMED ATTENDING CHURCH SERVICES

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Attending Church Services				Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 Hrs. (71-9)	1 Hr. (512-56)	2-3 Hrs. (1210-80)	4-7 Hrs. (278-11)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	4.04 (3.86)	3.82 (3.74)	3.73 (3.68)	3.46 (3.42)	0, 1, 2-3>4-7	0, 1, 2-3>4-7
M-H	4.63 (4.48)	4.54 (4.43)	4.37 (4.32)	4.13 (4.14)	{1>4-7, 2-3 0, 2-3>4-7	1, 2-3>4-7
D-B	5.27 (5.39)	5.37 (5.51)	5.64 (5.65)	5.63 (5.67)	2-3, 4-7>1	nil
D-BB	4.94	4.87	4.90	4.98	nil	not tested
F-P	5.32	5.52	5.55	5.43	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.28	3.14	3.18	3.37	nil	not tested
I-L	3.44	3.15	3.20	3.11	nil	not tested
I-Lg	2.06	1.89	1.98	2.03	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.41 (1.36)	1.26 (1.21)	1.22 (1.19)	1.08 (1.06)	0, 1, 2-3>4-7	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.6 of Appendix C, on page 378.

TABLE XLIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE BOYS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK CLAIMED ATTENDING CHURCH SERVICES

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Attending Church Services			Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 Hrs. (59-7)	1 Hr. (280-28)	2-3 Hrs. (606-48)	4-7 Hrs. (139-7)	
M-S	4.00 (3.85)	4.02 (3.94)	3.96 (3.90)	3.62 (3.56)	All Boys Omitting St. John's 1, 2-3>4-7 nil
M-H	4.66 (4.52)	4.60 (4.50)	4.53 (4.46)	4.09 (4.10)	0, 1, 2-3>4-7 1, 2-3>4-7
I-Lb	1.42	1.27	1.28	1.07	nil not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.6 of Appendix C, on page 378.

TABLE XLIV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE GIRLS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK CLAIMED ATTENDING CHURCH SERVICES

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Attending Church Services			Significant Differences (.05)		
	0 Hrs. (12-2)	1 Hr. (232-28)	2-3 Hrs. (604-32)			
			4-7 Hrs. (139-4)	All Girls Omitting St. John's		
M-S	4.25	3.58	3.51	3.30	nil	not tested
M-H	4.50	4.46	4.21	4.18	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.33	1.25	1.16	1.09	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.6 of Appendix C, on page 378.

hours per week attending church services, which held with St. John's pupils included and without them. Emphasizing this relationship are the statistically significant differences between pupils claiming to spend 4-7 hours per week in church services and those spending less. Scrutiny of Tables XLIII and XLIV reveals that boys and girls had very similar church attendance habits, although a higher percentage of boys (5.4) than girls (1.2) circled 0 as their usual hours per week attending church services. The inverse relationship between hours per week attending church services and M-S scores seemed to persist for both boys and girls. Although the statistical significance of the differences between category (4-7) pupils and all others now disappeared, this was due chiefly to reduction in sample size rather than in the size of the differences, for, when the scores of boys and girls were analyzed separately, most of these differences were bigger than for the overall sample.

Those not in regular attendance at Sunday school had, and the difference was statistically significant, somewhat higher M-S scores than those who usually attended. However, since 60 percent of those not in attendance were boys and 60 percent in attendance girls, and since the average boy's score was .43 higher than the average girl's, it was necessary to hold sex constant to see whether differences were attributable to anything other than their differing habits of Sunday school attendance. With sex held constant, differences, as set forth in Tables XLVI and XLVII were smaller and without statistical significance. However, for boys, if not for girls, lower M-S scores seem associated with Sunday school attendance.

In Table XLVIII there is no indication that hours of weekly activity in church sponsored youth organizations such as the Church Lads Brigade and the Girls Friendly Society were related to M-S scores, nor to M-H scores.

TABLE XLV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Value- Orientation Does Scale	Sunday School Attendance		Significant Differences (.05)	
	1 (1262-110)	0 (821-46)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.81 (3.74)	3.60 (3.53)	1>0	1>0
M-H	4.49 (4.42)	4.22 (4.18)	1>0	1>0
D-B	5.47 (5.53)	5.69 (5.74)	0>1	0>1
D-BB	4.89	4.93	nil	not tested
F-P	5.57 (5.56)	5.43 (5.42)	1>0	1>0
F-Pr	3.24	3.14	nil	not tested
I-L	3.22	3.13	nil	not tested
I-Lg	1.96	1.98	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.26 (1.22)	1.15 (1.13)	1>0	1>0

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.7 of Appendix C, on page 379.

TABLE XLVI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE BOYS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Value- Orientation Scale	Sunday School Attendance		Significant Differences (.05)	
	1 Does Not Usually Attend (761-62)	0 Usually Attends (329-28)	All Boys	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.98	3.81	nil	not tested
M-H	4.61 (4.54)	4.24 (4.16)	1>0	1>0
D-B	5.51 (5.56)	5.75 (5.83)	0>1	0>1
F-P	5.49	5.40	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.28	1.20	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.7 of Appendix C, on page 379.

TABLE XLVII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE GIRLS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Value- Orientation Scale	Sunday School Attendance		Significant Differences (.05)	
	1 Does Not Usually Attend (501-48)	0 Usually Attends (492-18)	All Girls	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.54	3.46	nil	not tested
M-H	4.31	4.22	nil	not tested
D-B	5.42 (5.47)	5.64 (5.68)	0>1	0>1
F-P	5.68 (5.69)	5.45 (5.44)	1>0	1>0
I-Lb	1.22	1.12	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.7 of Appendix C, on page 379.

TABLE XLVIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO HOURS OF
WEEKLY ACTIVITY IN CHURCH SPONSORED YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Value- Orientation Scale	Weekly Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Orgs.					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 Hrs. (1255-85)	1 Hr. (160-6)	2 Hrs. (319-9)	3 Hrs. (181-32)	4 Hrs. or More (111-19)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.74	3.58	3.67	3.80	3.80	nil	not tested
M-H	4.40	4.20	4.35	4.51	4.46	nil	not tested
D-B	5.56	5.56	5.53	5.44	5.80	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.91	4.85	4.94	4.82	5.01	nil	not tested
F-P	5.55 (5.54)	5.59 (5.59)	5.32 (5.31)	5.61 (5.59)	5.59 (5.61)	0, 1, 3 > 2	0, 1, 3 > 2
F-Pr	3.20 (3.24)	3.30 (3.35)	3.05 (3.04)	3.10 (3.21)	3.66 (3.84)	4-7 > 3, 2, 1, 0	$\begin{cases} 4-7 > 3, 2, 1, 0 \\ 0, 1 > 2 \end{cases}$
I-L	3.27 (3.24)	2.96 (2.99)	3.15 (3.14)	3.04 (2.95)	2.96 (2.83)	0 > 4-7, 1	0 > 4-7, 3, 1
I-Lg	1.99	1.94	1.97	1.89	1.91	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.28 (1.25)	1.03 (1.04)	1.18 (1.16)	1.15 (1.04)	1.05 (.95)	0 > 4-7, 1	0 > 4-7, 3, 1

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.8 of Appendix C, on page 379.

TABLE XLIX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE BOYS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
HOURS OF WEEKLY ACTIVITY IN CHURCH SPONSORED YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Value- Orientation Scale	Weekly Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Orgs.					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 Hrs. (677-44)	1 Hr. (71-2)	2 Hrs. (140-5)	3 Hrs. (93-19)	4 Hrs. or More (66-16)	All Boys	Omitting St. John's
F-P	5.48	5.47	5.30	5.71	5.55	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.40	3.49	3.28	3.39	3.80	nil	not tested
I-L	3.36 (3.33)	3.01 (3.00)	3.18 (3.17)	3.17 (2.96)	2.88 (2.64)	0>4-7	0, 2>4-7
I-Lb	1.32 (1.30)	1.18 (1.17)	1.20 (1.18)	1.24 (1.05)	.96 (.78)	0>4-7	0, 1, 2>4-7

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.8 of Appendix C, on page 379.

TABLE L

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE GIRLS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
HOURS OF WEEKLY ACTIVITY IN CHURCH SPONSORED YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Value- Orientation Scale	Weekly Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Orgs.					Significant Differences (.05)	
	0 Hrs. (574-41)	1 Hr. (89-4)	2 Hrs. (178-4)	3 Hrs. (87-13)	4 Hrs. or More (46-3)	All Girls	Omitting St. John's
F-P	5.64 (5.65)	5.70 (5.69)	5.33 (5.32)	5.49 (5.50)	5.65 (5.63)	0, 1 > 2	0, 1 > 2
F-Pr	2.97	3.15	2.87	2.78	3.46	nil	not tested
I-L	3.17	2.92	3.12	2.90	3.07	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.23 (1.18)	.90 (.93)	1.16 (1.14)	1.06 (1.03)	1.17 (1.14)	0, 2 > 1	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.8 of Appendix C, on page 379.

The relationship between pupils' church involvement and their M-H scores paralleled that with M-S scores. The same inverse relationship with hours per week attending church services can be seen in Tables XLII, XLIII and XLIV. For boys, girls, and all pupils, mean M-H scores decreased in regular progression as hours in church attendance increased. When boys and girls were analyzed together, pupils in the (4-7) category differed at statistically significant levels from other pupils. These differences were larger for boys, but for girls much smaller and without statistical significance. However, mean M-H scores increased as girls' church attendance decreased, and the scores of those attending one hour a week or less seem larger than those in attendance two or more hours.

The findings emerging from the analysis of M-H scores according to Sunday school attendance were similar to those for M-S scores but more pointed. Boys who attended Sunday school were, and the difference is statistically significant, more Harmony-oriented less Mastery-oriented than those who did not attend. The difference for girls, while in the same direction, was quite small (.09) and not statistically significant.

Thus, lower M-S and M-H scores were, as predicted, found to be associated with more hours a week in church attendance, and for boys, although perhaps not for girls, with attendance at Sunday school.

The Activity Problem

No relationship was found between D-BB scores and any of the three indices of church involvement. Relationships were indicated, however, for the D-B scale. Pupils attending Sunday school, both boys and girls, had reliably higher D-B scores than those not in usual attendance. Similarly, those attending church services more than the perfunctory one hour a week had higher D-B scores, although

when St. John's pupils were omitted from the analysis differences were reduced and statistical significance eliminated. For the 157 St. John's pupils it was found that the mean D-B score of those in church attendance two or more hours a week was 5.32, those in attendance one hour or less 4.28, a difference statistically significant beyond the .001 level. Table XLVIII, while indicating no statistically significant D-B differences, does suggest that those heavily involved in church sponsored youth organizations had higher D-B scores. In all, there seems to have been demonstrated a direct relationship between D-B scores and church involvement. Pupils more involved in church activities were more Doing-oriented and less Being-oriented than those less involved. Since D-BB scores were constant it may be that it is Being or hedonism that was less.

The Time Problem

There seems to have been no clear-cut relationship between church involvement and scores on the F-P scale. No differences were apparent when pupils were grouped according to hours of church attendance. Those who each week had two hours activity in church sponsored youth organizations had, very peculiarly, lower F-P scores than those with more activity or less. These strange differences are statistically significant and persisted for girls, and, though not statistically significant, for boys also. Since probing into the kinds of communities and organizations involved yielded no simple explanation, these unusual differences are attributed to the workings of chance, especially since analyses were performed at the .05 level and the F-P scale is not too stable. Those who regularly attended Sunday school, girls especially, according to the statistically significant differences set forth in Tables XLV, XLVI and XLVII, were less Future-oriented more Past-oriented than those who did not attend.

There seem to have been no noteworthy differences on the F-Pr scale that relate to church involvement, except that pupils spending more than four hours

a week in church sponsored youth organizations had higher scores. This difference persisted, although not with statistical significance, for boys and for girls. Again, there were those naggingly low scores of pupils spending two hours a week in church sponsored organizations.

The Relational Problem

No relationship is indicated in the tables between I-Lg scores and church involvement. Thus, since differences on the overall I-L scale seem attributable to the items that make up the I-Lb scale, only the latter will be discussed.

The data from all the indices indicate an inverse relationship, though not a strong one, between church involvement and I-Lb scores. Mean scores decreased progressively with increased hours a week attending church services for both boys and girls, although the only statistically significant differences were between those in category (4-7) and the others, and then only when all pupils were included in the analysis. Also, pupils who attended Sunday school scored slightly less on the I-Lb scale, and, when all pupils were included in the analysis, the difference was statistically significant. The relationship also held for hours of activity in church sponsored youth organizations. For boys there was with increased activity a progressive decline in means, and differences between those in the heavy involvement (4-7) group and those less involved were statistically significant. For girls, means did not progressively decline, although those not involved at all had slightly lower scores (.15 lower) than those who were.

III. MASS MEDIA INVOLVEMENT

An important distinction between peasant society and modern urban society is the mass media of communication which characterize the latter. Pupils were

grouped according to their exposure to four such media--television, radio, movies and the periodical press--to test the hypothesized relationships with value-orientations.

Preliminary analysis indicated that some of the original groupings could be combined and yet retain statistically significant differences. Consequently, except for Table LVI dealing with the periodical press and for which there were no statistically significant differences, the tables which follow are regroupings of the original data.

The Man-Nature Problem

Tables LI and LII indicate that both M-H scores and M-S scores were higher for those pupils who spent more hours a week viewing television, and that for most of the comparisons the means steadily progressed with increased viewing. Moreover, the statistically significant differences indicate that those who viewed very little--two hours a week or less--had lower scores than those who viewed longer. There was a wider range in scores for boys than for girls between the heavy and the non-viewers. Parenthetically, higher percentages of boys than girls were found in the high-viewing category, lower percentages in the lower categories.

No statistically significant differences related time spent listening to radio or attending movies to M-S or M-H scores. What differences there were seem to have been in the opposite direction! Although there were no differences statistically significant for pupils grouped according to the hours spent reading newspapers and magazines, the twenty pupils claiming twenty or more hours a week seem to have had higher M-S and M-H scores.

Thus, the only mass media variable with important relationship to scores on the scales of the Man-Nature problem was television viewing, and that

TABLE LI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS, IN COMMUNITIES WHERE MOST HOMES
HAVE SETS, GROUPED ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK WATCHING TELEVISION

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Watching Television				Significant Differences (.05)
	7-9 15 Hrs. or More (323-58)	3-6 3-10 Hrs. (705-95)	1-2 1-2 Hrs. (107-3)	0 0 Hrs. (25-0)	
M-S	4.05 (3.94)	4.00 (3.91)	3.58 (3.57)	3.20 (3.20)	3-6, 7-9 > 1-2, 0 3-6, 7-9 > 1-2, 0
M-H	4.72 (4.60)	4.64 (4.57)	4.19 (4.17)	4.16 (4.16)	3-6, 7-9 > 1-2 3-6, 7-9 > 1-2
D-B	5.39	5.55	5.44	5.24	nil not tested
D-BB	4.90	4.95	5.19	4.81	nil not tested
F-P	5.59	5.57	5.46	5.28	nil not tested
F-Pr	3.05	3.10	3.30	3.00	nil not tested
I-L	3.30	3.25	2.95	3.00	nil not tested
I-Lg	1.87	1.87	1.93	1.76	nil not tested
I-Lb	1.44 (1.40)	1.38 (1.34)	1.03 (1.02)	1.24 (1.24)	3-6, 7-9 > 1-2 3-6, 7-9 > 1-2

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.2 of Appendix C, on page 377.

TABLE LII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE BOYS AND GRADE NINE GIRLS, IN COMMUNITIES WHERE MOST HOMES HAVE SETS, GROUPED ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK WATCHING TELEVISION

Value-Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Watching Television				Significant Differences (.05)	
	7-9 15 Hrs. or More (196-43) (127-15)	3-6 3-10 Hrs. (353-45) (352-50)	1-2 1-2 Hrs. (37-2) (70-1)	0 0 Hrs. (5-0) (20-0)		
M-S	Boys	4.30 (4.18)	4.16 (4.08)	3.68 (3.66)	3.00 (3.00)	7-9>1-2 nil
	Girls	3.67	3.84	3.53	3.25	nil not tested
M-H	Boys	4.79 (4.67)	4.77 (4.68)	4.19 (4.14)	3.80 (3.80)	3-6, 7-9>1-2 nil
	Girls	4.61	4.51	4.20	4.25	nil not tested
I-Lb	Boys	1.50	1.44	1.24	.80	nil not tested
	Girls	1.35 (1.31)	1.32 (1.28)	.92 (.92)	1.35 (1.35)	3-6, 7-9>1-2 3-6, 7-9>1-2

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.2 of Appendix C, on page 377.

TABLE LIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK SPENT LISTENING TO RADIO

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Listening to Radio				Significant Differences (.05)	
	9 25 Hrs. (101-8)	8 20 Hrs. (112-13)	6-7 10-15 Hrs. (499-40)	0-5 0-7 Hrs. (1364-94)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
M-S	3.55	3.57	3.75	3.75	nil	not tested
M-H	4.23	4.27	4.43	4.40	nil	not tested
D-B	5.32	5.51	5.49	5.60	nil	not tested
D-BB	4.74	4.93	4.89	4.91	nil	not tested
F-P	5.53	5.54	5.63	5.48	nil	not tested
F-Pr	3.34	3.17	3.15	3.21	nil	not tested
I-L	3.32 (3.21)	2.77 (2.72)	3.30 (3.28)	3.17 (3.14)	0-5, 6-7, 9>8	0-5, 6-7, 9>8
I-Lg	2.07	1.77	1.97	1.98	nil	not tested
I-Lb	1.25 (1.17)	1.00 (.96)	1.33 (1.30)	1.19 (1.16)	{6-7>8, 0-5 0-5>8	{6-7>8, 0-5 0-5>8

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.3 of Appendix C, on page 378.

TABLE LIV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF GRADE NINE BOYS AND GRADE NINE
GIRLS GROUPED ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK SPENT LISTENING TO RADIO

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Listening to Radio						Significant Differences (.05)	
	9		8		6-7		0-5	
	25 Hrs. (39-5) (61-3)	Boys Girls	20 Hrs. (50-7) (63-6)	10-15 Hrs. (227-20) (271-19)	0-7 Hrs. (757-57) (596-37)	All Boys or All Girls	Omitting St. John's	
I-L	Boys	3.56 (3.35)	2.94 (2.77)	3.43 (3.38)	3.21 (3.17)	6-7>8,0-5	nil	
	Girls	3.16 (3.12)	2.64 (2.68)	3.20 (3.20)	3.12 (3.10)	0-5,6-7,9>8	nil	
I-Lb	Boys	1.43 (1.31)	.92 (.79)	1.41 (1.37)	1.23 (1.20)	{6-7>8,0-5 0-5,9>8	{6-7>8,0-5 0-5, 9>8	
	Girls	1.13	1.06	1.26	1.15	nil	not tested	

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.3 of Appendix C, on page 378.

TABLE LV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF ALL PUPILS, BOYS, AND GIRLS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK ATTENDING MOVIES

Value- Orientation Scale		Hours per Week Attending Movies			Significant Differences (.05)	
		2-5	1	0		
		4-10 Hrs.	2 Hrs.	0 Hrs.		
	All Pupils	(357-12)	(765-86)	(928-55)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
	Boys	(217-10)	(393-44)	(453-33)		
	Girls	(139- 2)	(373-42)	(475-22)		
M-S	All pupils	3.63	3.68	3.79	nil	not tested
M-H	All pupils	4.28	4.38	4.42	nil	not tested
D-B	All pupils	5.62	5.56	5.53	nil	not tested
D-BB	All pupils	4.90	4.86	4.95	nil	not tested
F-P	All pupils	5.49	5.51	5.54	nil	not tested
F-Pr	All pupils	3.17	3.24	3.19	nil	not tested
I-L	All pupils	3.10	3.20	3.22	nil	not tested
I-Lg	All pupils	2.02	1.99	1.94	nil	not tested
I-Lb	All pupils	1.08 (1.07)	1.21 (1.16)	1.28 (1.26)	0, 1, 2-5	0>2-5
	Boys	1.07 (1.05)	1.22 (1.15)	1.40 (1.37)	0>2-5, 1	0>2-5, 1
	Girls	1.09	1.21	1.18	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.4 of Appendix C, on page 378.

TABLE LVI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
HOURS PER WEEK READING NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Value- Orientation Scale	Hours per Week Reading Newspapers and Magazines										Significant Differences (.05)
	9 25 Hrs.20 (6)	8 (14)	7 (30)	6 (82)	5 (135)	4 (249)	3 (387)	2 (448)	1 Hr. (567)	0 (154)	
M-S	4.83	4.21	3.90	3.88	3.82	3.66	3.72	3.75	3.69	3.66	nil
M-H	5.17	5.21	3.97	4.54	4.51	4.39	4.30	4.43	4.39	4.29	nil
D-B	5.50	5.07	5.40	5.66	5.66	5.48	5.56	5.43	5.66	5.63	nil
D-BB	4.67	4.57	5.17	4.76	4.78	4.84	4.90	4.91	4.95	5.03	nil
F-P	5.17	6.00	5.77	5.56	5.58	5.61	5.38	5.56	5.52	5.44	nil
F-Pr	3.33	3.21	3.70	2.96	3.05	3.16	3.16	3.16	3.26	3.33	nil
I-L	2.20	3.57	2.73	3.46	3.31	3.20	3.21	3.19	3.16	2.97	nil
I-Lg	1.80	2.07	1.73	1.99	2.12	1.96	1.99	1.96	1.95	1.89	nil
I-Lb	.50	1.50	1.00	1.48	1.18	1.24	1.23	1.23	1.21	1.10	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index III.5 of Appendix C, on page 378.

relationship seems to have been largely dichotomous with non-viewers or those viewing just one or two hours a week having lower M-S and M-H scores than heavier viewers.

The Activity and Time Problems

Differences neither noteworthy nor statistically significant were apparent for pupils grouped according to mass media exposure for either D-B, D-BB, F-P or F-Pr scores.

The Relational Problem

No differences on the I-Lg sub-scale indicates no relationship between it and mass media exposure. Differences on the overall I-L scale will be considered, therefore, as differences on the I-Lb sub-scale.

There appears to have been a generally direct relationship between I-Lb scores and exposure to television, with all statistically significant differences in that direction. The one anomaly in the data, the high scores of the twenty girls who did not watch television, is removed when these are grouped with the low viewers of category (1-2). Moreover, the protocols of the above-average scores among these twenty girls revealed their contacts other than television--community, family, experience--to be those found previously to be closely related to high I-Lb scores.

That statistically significant and other differences opposed each other when pupils were grouped by hours a week listening to the radio indicates that there was no linear relationship with I-Lb scores. Table LVI provides no indication of any relationship between I-Lb scores and reading newspapers and magazines. Although for girls there seem to have been no differences, for boys movie attendance was inversely related to I-Lb scores, a relationship the reverse of that found for television viewing.

In all, it would appear that for predicting scores on the scales of the relational problem, and, indeed for all scales except M-S and M-H, and then only television viewing, indices of exposure to the mass media are useless.

IV. SUMMARY

As predicted, the scores on the M-S, M-H and I-Lb scales made by the mobile pupil were related to the kind of community in which he used to reside, and this was usually true for the scales of the Activity problem. However, F-P and to a lesser extent F-Pr scores were higher for the non-mobile than the downward mobile and higher still for the upward mobile, an important finding, since virtually all other independent variables had yielded no differences in means on the F-P scale.

An inverse relationship with M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores, as predicted, and a direct relationship with D-B scores, were found for involvement in church activities, especially for attendance at church and Sunday school, thus confirming the suggestion that the less urban value-orientations tend to be associated with more church involvement. Although no important relationships with value-orientation scales were found for indices of exposure to radio, movies and the periodical press, yet television viewing was found to be directly related to M-S, M-H and I-Lb scores. Thus, church and television tended to be associated with opposite ends of these value-orientation scales.

CHAPTER XII

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS AND INVOLVEMENT IN TEENAGE SUB-CULTURE

The findings from the literature, as presented in Chapter V, suggest that the modern urban teenager, through involvement in the teenage sub-culture, tends to be especially hedonistic, oriented towards enjoyment, the present, and to peers. A distinct teenage sub-culture was not, however, a characteristic of the traditional Newfoundland outport, where boys helped their fathers, girls their mothers, and where there were, except perhaps for a men's lodge, a women's church organization, the all-grade school and Sunday school, no formal age sets, even in non-economic activities. Consequently, if there is any substance to the contention that the value-orientations of teenagers differ according to their involvement in the sub-culture, such differences should be found among the pupils of the present study ranging widely, as they do, in the development of teenage sub-culture from tiny fishing villages to St. John's. Such findings would appear to be a necessary condition for the tenability of that contention, but, without adult-teenager and within-community comparisons, not a sufficient condition.

Hypothesis 4 stated:

The larger their high school enrolment, the longer time spent informally or formally with their peers or listening to music on radio or records, then (a) the more often will pupils choose the Being value-orientation and the less often Doing; (b) the more often Present and the less often Past; and (c) the more often the Collateral and Lineal, especially the Intergenerational Lineal, and the less often the Individualistic value-orientation.

Table LVII and the findings which are presented below indicate modest support for this hypothesis.

TABLE LVII

THE EXTENT TO WHICH STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN VALUE-ORIENTATION SCORES AND INVOLVEMENT IN TEENAGE SUB-CULTURE

Involvement in Teenage Sub-culture	Value-Orientatation Scale				
	D-B ^a	Pr-P	I-L	I-Lg	I-C
Size of Grade Peer Group	-	-	-	-	-
Size of School Peer Group	Yes ^b	Yes	-	-	-
Kind of School	-	Yes	-	-	Yes
Involvement in Extracurricular Activities	-	-	-	-	-
Involvement in Youth Groups	-	-	Yes	-	YN
Evenings with Peers	-	-	-	-	Yes
Frequency of Dating	-	-	-	-	-
Attends Church with Peers or Parents	-	-	-	-	-
Listening to Teenage Music	Yes	Yes	-	-	-

Notes: (a) The meanings of the D-B and other scales are amplified in Table II, on page 159.

(b) Yes means that the statistically significant differences were all in the predicted direction, YN that such differences were divided almost equally between those in the predicted direction and those in the opposite direction, and - that there were no statistically significant differences.

I. HIGH SCHOOL ENROLMENT

Since a teenage sub-culture appeared more likely to exist and be influential in schools which had large enrolments of pupils of approximately the same age, pupils were grouped in three rather similar ways: according to their school's total enrolment in grades nine to eleven, according to its grade nine enrolment, and according to the kind of school.

The D-B Value-Orientation Scale

Although differences were not statistically significant, their direction suggests an inverse relationship between D-B scores and the size of the pupil's school peer group. Table LIX shows that pupils in schools enrolling ten or fewer in high school grades had slightly higher D-B scores than those in schools with over one hundred in high school grades. Table LVIII indicates that when comparisons are restricted to grade nine, differences, although still not statistically significant, are in the same direction. The statistically significant differences in Table LX merely reflect the low D-B scores of St. John's pupils, although there may be as well a tendency for pupils in all grade schools and central schools to have higher D-B scores than pupils in regional schools. Moreover, when St. John's pupils were compared separately, pupils in the schools with the larger peer group had lower D-B scores than those in the schools with the smaller peer group. These data are not shown in the tables and differences were not statistically significant. Thus, there is some slight evidence linking hedonism with larger teenage groups.

The Pr-P Value-Orientation Scale

Table LVIII indicates that in schools where there were seven pupils or fewer in grade nine, grade nine pupils tended to have lower Pr-P scores than where there were more pupils. Table LIX shows that in schools with ten or

TABLE LVIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO THE NUMBER OF GRADE NINE PUPILS IN THEIR SCHOOL

Value- Orientation Scale	Number of Grade Nine Pupils in the School				Significant Differences (.05)	
	6-8 41-142 Pupils (963-140)	3-5 8-40 Pupils (889-17)	0-2 1-7 Pupils (240-0)		All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
D-B	5.50 (5.61)	5.59 (5.60)	5.68 (5.68)		nil	nil
Pr-P	5.70 (5.67)	5.66 (5.65)	5.39 (5.39)		3-5, 6-8 > 0-2	3-5, 6-8 > 0-2
I-L	3.31 (3.27)	3.09 (3.08)	3.03 (3.03)		6-8 > 3-5, 0-2	6-8 > 3-5, 0-2
I-Lg	1.95 (1.96)	1.99 (1.99)	1.97 (1.97)		nil	nil
I-C	2.81 (2.82)	2.84 (2.84)	2.92 (2.92)		nil	nil

Note:

Complete details of the categories are contained in Index IV.1 of Appendix C, on page 379.

In the body of the table, numbers in parentheses refer to means of pupils excluding St. John's.

In the heading, the first number in parentheses indicates all pupils in that category, the second the St. John's pupils there. Significant differences (.05) between pairs of means were identified only if an F test had revealed significant overall variation. "Nil" refers to an F not statistically significant (.05). For the indices of this chapter, most F tests that were statistically significant were significant beyond the .01 level, the most stringent level for which tables of F were available.

TABLE LIX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO THE NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS IN THEIR SCHOOL

Value- Orientation Scale	Number of High School Pupils in the School			Significant Differences (.05)	
	5-6 Pupils (732-103)	2-4 Pupils (1160-54)	0-1 Pupils (199-0)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
D-B	5.45 (5.56)	5.59 (5.62)	5.71 (5.71)	0-1>5-6	nil
Pr-P	5.67 (5.65)	5.67 (5.65)	5.44 (5.44)	2-4, 5-6>0-1	nil
I-L	3.28 (3.25)	3.14 (3.11)	3.10 (3.10)	nil	nil
I-Lg	1.92 (1.93)	2.00 (2.00)	1.96 (1.96)	nil	nil
I-C	2.78 (2.80)	2.84 (2.84)	2.97 (2.97)	nil	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.2 of Appendix C, on page 379.

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR KIND OF SCHOOL

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.3 of Appendix C, on page 380.

fewer high school pupils, grade nine pupils scored lower on the Pr-P scale than those in larger schools. Table LX reiterates this same datum, namely that in one room, all grade schools and in small schools with grades 1-9, pupils had lower Pr-P scores. Also, in Table LX, St. John's pupils--those in junior high schools (category 3), a St. John's pattern--have Pr-P scores higher than those elsewhere. Apart from these two facts that St. John's pupils have highest Pr-P scores, and that pupils in very small schools, almost all of which are in small settlements, have lowest Pr-P scores, there is no close relationship between size of school peer group and Pr-P scores.

The Relational Problem

Contrary to Hypothesis IV, there were no significant or noticeable differences, as Tables LVIII to LX show, to indicate that size of teenage population in school or grade is related to I-Lg scores. Thus, there is no evidence here to link low Intergenerational Lineality with large peer groups. However, in that pupils with smaller school peer groups tended to have progressively smaller I-L scores, there does seem to be lower Bureaucratic Lineality in larger peer groups.

On the I-C scale, pupils seem to have been less Collaterally-oriented, more Individualistically-oriented in the schools with the smaller teenage peer groups. That central high school pupils (category 4) were lower, at a statistically significant level, than those of pupils in all grade schools of two rooms or more (category 2) perhaps lends some support to this.

II. INVOLVEMENT WITH LOCAL PEERS

The value-orientation scores of pupils were examined according to pupil involvement with their local peers, specifically, according to hours

per week spent at extracurricular school activities, and with youth groups, the number of evenings per week out with peers, frequency of dating, and whether church attendance was with friends or parents. Tables LXI to LXV set forth the findings.

The D-B Value-Orientation Scale

As far as the D-B scale is concerned, no statistically significant differences were found. However, the means set forth in Table LXIII suggest that pupils who did not go out with their friends in the evenings were less Being-oriented more Doing-oriented than those who did, and that girls, and perhaps boys, who went out every evening had lowest D-B scores. Similarly, in Table LXIV, the very frequent daters, both boys and girls, seem to have had lower D-B scores than those who claimed to date less frequently. Again, those who attended church with their parents had higher D-B scores than those who attended with friends. Involvement in extracurricular school activities seems, as set forth in Table LXI, unrelated to D-B scores. From Table LXII, it seems that involvement in youth groups was related directly for girls, inversely for boys, with D-B scores, a finding suggesting further study. In all, D-B scores seem usually to be related directly but weakly to involvement with one's peers.

The Pr-P Value-Orientation Scale

Tables LXI to LXV indicate that neither statistically significant differences nor noticeable trends were found between the mean Pr-P scores of pupils grouped according to their involvement with local peers.

The Relational Problem

There seems to be no clear-cut relationship between involvement in

TABLE LXI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO HOURS PER WEEK AT EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

		Hours per Week at Extracurricular Activities				Significant Differences (.05)
		10 or 15 Hrs.	3-5 Hrs.	1-2 Hrs.	0 Hrs.	
Value- Orientation Scale	All Pupils Boys Girls	(115) (102) (13)	(502) (329) (173)	(681) (324) (357)	(750) (313) (437)	All Pupils Omitting St. John's
D-B	All pupils Boys Girls	5.58 5.71 4.62	5.51 5.50 5.54	5.50 5.50 5.49	5.65 5.69 5.61	nil nil nil not tested not tested not tested
Pr-P	All pupils Boys Girls	5.58 5.51 6.15	5.62 5.53 5.80	5.59 5.42 5.75	5.74 5.60 5.84	nil nil nil not tested not tested not tested
I-L	All pupils Boys Girls	3.12 3.17 2.77	3.29 3.37 3.12	3.08 3.10 3.07	3.22 3.34 3.14	nil nil nil not tested not tested not tested
I-Lg	All pupils Boys Girls	1.90 1.89 1.92	2.03 2.09 1.92	1.90 1.90 1.91	2.00 2.04 1.98	nil nil nil not tested not tested not tested
I-C	All pupils Boys Girls	2.72 2.79 2.15	2.94 3.03 2.75	2.76 2.79 2.74	2.84 2.89 2.81	nil nil nil not tested not tested not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.4 of Appendix C, on page 380.

TABLE LXII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED
ACCORDING TO HOURS PER WEEK AT YOUTH GROUPS

Value- Orientation Scale	All Pupils Boys Girls	Hours per Week at Youth Groups			Significant Differences (.05)
		6-8: 6 Hrs. or More	1-5 Hrs.	0 Hrs.	
		(117-20) (65-17) (52-3)	(885-71) (420-39) (465-32)	(998-58) (546-28) (452-30)	All Pupils Omitting St. John's
D-B	All pupils	5.55 (5.66)	5.58 (5.65)	5.54 (5.58)	nil
	Boys	5.34 (5.48)	5.52 (5.62)	5.63 (5.66)	nil
	Girls	5.81 (5.84)	5.63 (5.67)	5.44 (5.48)	nil
Pr-P	All pupils	5.60	5.69	5.62	not tested
	Boys	5.49	5.51	5.50	not tested
	Girls	5.73	5.86	5.77	not tested
I-L	All pupils	3.10 (2.98)	3.10 (3.07)	3.28 (3.26)	0>1-5
	Boys	3.08 (2.85)	3.22 (3.14)	3.34 (3.32)	0>6-8
	Girls	3.14 (3.10)	3.00 (3.02)	3.21 (3.19)	nil
I-Lg	All pupils	1.96 (1.94)	1.94 (1.95)	2.01 (2.01)	nil
	Boys	1.99 (1.94)	1.98 (1.96)	2.04 (2.03)	nil
	Girls	1.92 (1.94)	1.90 (1.93)	1.99 (2.00)	nil
I-C	All pupils	3.20 (3.20)	2.74 (2.75)	2.87 (2.88)	6-8>1-5, 0
	Boys	3.26 (3.21)	2.75 (2.74)	2.98 (2.98)	0, 6-8>1-5
	Girls	3.12 (3.18)	2.73 (2.76)	2.75 (2.76)	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.5 of Appendix C, on page 380.

TABLE LXIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO NUMBER OF EVENINGS PER WEEK SPENT WITH PEERS

Value- Orientation Scale	All Pupils Boys Girls	Evenings per Week with Peers				Significant Differences (.05)	
		7	3-6	1-2	0		
		Evenings (142-8) (109-8) (33-0)	Evenings (814-57) (471-40) (343-17)	Evenings (880-72) (404-33) (476-39)	Evenings (242-18) (105- 8) (137-10)		
D-B	All pupils	5.47 (5.46)	5.52 (5.57)	5.57 (5.63)	5.73 (5.82)	nil	nil
	Boys	5.55 (5.55)	5.52 (5.57)	5.60 (5.69)	5.84 (5.92)	nil	nil
	Girls	5.18 (5.18)	5.53 (5.56)	5.54 (5.58)	5.64 (5.74)	nil	nil
Pr-P	All pupils	5.57	5.67	5.67	5.53	nil	not tested
	Boys	5.51	5.53	5.53	5.23	nil	not tested
	Girls	5.76	5.87	5.79	5.76	nil	not tested
I-L	All pupils	3.29	3.12	3.20	3.23	nil	not tested
	Boys	3.39	3.13	3.30	3.44	nil	not tested
	Girls	2.94	3.11	3.12	3.07	nil	not tested
I-Lg	All pupils	1.95 (1.96)	1.91 (1.91)	2.01 (2.02)	1.99 (2.00)	nil	nil
	Boys	1.94 (1.95)	1.90 (1.88)	2.09 (2.08)	2.08 (2.08)	1-2>3-6	1-2>3-6
	Girls	1.97 (1.97)	1.93 (1.95)	1.94 (1.96)	1.93 (1.94)	nil	nil
I-C	All pupils	2.86 (2.90)	2.71 (2.71)	2.88 (2.89)	3.08 (3.08)	0,1-2>3-6	0,1-2>3-6
	Boys	2.88 (2.93)	2.72 (2.71)	3.01 (2.99)	3.22 (3.24)	0,1-2>3-6	0,1-2>3-6
	Girls	2.82 (2.82)	2.70 (2.72)	2.76 (2.80)	2.96 (2.95)	nil	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.6 of Appendix C, on page 380.

TABLE LXIV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO THE FREQUENCY WITH WHICH THEY DATE

Frequency of Dating							
Value- Orientation Scale	All Pupils Boys Girls	Twice a		Once a		Does Not Date (825-68) (522-42) (303-26)	Significant Differences (.05)
		Week or More (380-10) (181- 7) (199- 3)	or Less (514-35) (224-18) (290-17)	Month or Less (369-43) (164-23) (205-20)	Date (825-68) (522-42) (303-26)		
D-B	All pupils	5.44 (5.47)	5.64 (5.71)	5.54 (5.62)	5.58 (5.62)	nil	nil
	Boys	5.44 (5.49)	5.70 (5.74)	5.49 (5.65)	5.62 (5.66)	nil	nil
	Girls	5.44 (5.44)	5.59 (5.68)	5.58 (5.60)	5.51 (5.56)	nil	nil
Pr-P	All pupils	5.61	5.68	5.66	5.64	nil	not tested
	Boys	5.39	5.46	5.49	5.56	nil	not tested
	Girls	5.82	5.86	5.79	5.78	nil	not tested
I-L	All pupils	3.10	3.15	3.15	3.26	nil	not tested
	Boys	3.24	3.27	3.17	3.27	nil	not tested
	Girls	2.97	2.06	3.14	3.23	nil	not tested
I-Lg	All pupils	1.89 (1.90)	1.93 (1.94)	1.95 (1.97)	2.03 (2.03)	nil	nil
	Boys	1.90 (1.90)	2.05 (2.04)	1.93 (1.89)	2.02 (2.01)	nil	nil
	Girls	1.88 (1.89)	1.85 (1.87)	1.97 (2.02)	2.05 (2.06)	nil	nil
I-C	All pupils	2.87	2.79	2.76	2.88	nil	not tested
	Boys	2.98	2.87	2.85	2.88	nil	not tested
	Girls	2.77	2.72	2.69	2.88	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.7 of Appendix C, on page 381.

TABLE LXV

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO WHETHER THEY ATTEND CHURCH WITH PEERS OR PARENTS

Value- Orientation Scale	All Pupils	1: With Peers		0: With Parents		Significant Differences (.05)	
		(1542-87)	(799-51)	(484-60)	(238-30)	All Pupils	Omitting St. John's
	Boys	(743-36)	(246-30)				
	Girls						
D-B	All pupils	5.54 (5.59)	5.65 (5.74)	5.65 (5.74)	5.65 (5.74)	nil	nil
	Boys	5.58 (5.64)	5.66 (5.73)	5.66 (5.73)	5.66 (5.73)	nil	nil
	Girls	5.50 (5.53)	5.64 (5.76)	5.64 (5.76)	5.64 (5.76)	nil	nil
Pr-P	All pupils	5.65	5.64	5.64	5.64	nil	not tested
	Boys	5.50	5.45	5.45	5.45	nil	not tested
	Girls	5.81	5.83	5.83	5.83	nil	not tested
I-L	All pupils	3.16	3.19	3.19	3.19	nil	not tested
	Boys	3.20	3.33	3.33	3.33	nil	not tested
	Girls	3.12	3.05	3.05	3.05	nil	not tested
I-Lg	All pupils	1.97	1.93	1.93	1.93	nil	not tested
	Boys	1.98	2.01	2.01	2.01	nil	not tested
	Girls	1.97	1.86	1.86	1.86	nil	not tested
I-C	All pupils	2.84	2.77	2.77	2.77	nil	not tested
	Boys	2.87	2.92	2.92	2.92	nil	not tested
	Girls	2.81	2.63	2.63	2.63	nil	not tested

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.8 of Appendix C, on page 381.

the local peer society and I-L scores, especially I-Lg scores. As Table LXI sets forth, neither pattern nor statistically significant differences were found between means of pupils grouped by time spent participating in extracurricular activities connected with the school. According to Table LXII, pupils who did not participate at all in organized youth groups had highest I-L scores, including both highest I-Lg scores and, by subtraction, highest I-Lb scores. As shown in Table LXIII, boys, but not girls, who went out with their friends two evenings a week or fewer were less oriented towards Intergenerational Lineality than those who went out more often. Does this suggest that these boys were kept home against their wishes by parents? Similarly, non-dating girls chose Intergenerational Lineality over the Individualistic orientation less often than those who dated, although differences were not statistically significant. Whether pupils attended church with peers or parents seems unrelated to either I-L or I-Lg scores.

Thus, these findings suggest somewhat faintly that pupils who participate very little in the local teenage group tend less often than those who participate more to prefer Intergenerational Lineality over the Individualistic value-orientation. Interesting further study would be to see if this phenomenon of non-participation is related to feelings of rebellion against strict parents.

On the I-C scale, neither statistically significant differences nor trends were found among pupils grouped by participation in extracurricular school activities, by frequency of dating, or by attendance at church with parents or friends. As shown in Table LXIII, however, pupils who did not go out in the evenings, especially boys, were, as hypothesized, less Collaterally-oriented more Individualistically-oriented than those going out fairly often. Interesting differences were found when pupils were grouped by their

hours per week of participation in youth groups. Those, especially boys, who participated more than five hours a week were most Individualistically-oriented least Collaterally-oriented, but those who participated more moderately had lower I-C scores than non-participants. However, since pupils in communities with no youth groups were included as non-participants, perhaps the only secure finding is that higher participants have greater I-C scores than lower participants.

III. INVOLVEMENT IN THE GENERAL TEENAGE SUB-CULTURE

So far the analysis has dealt with the relationship to value-orientations of the size of the teenage school population and of involvement with local teenage society. The remaining index, hours per week listening to teenage music, seems to be a measure not of involvement in local peer group culture as much as involvement with North-American teenage culture in general.

The D-B Value-Orientation Scale

Table LXVI sets forth the findings for the D-B scale. Pupils who did not listen at all to teenage music or who listened but one hour a week were less Being-oriented, more Doing-oriented than heavier listeners. Especially clear-cut is this relationship for boys. Although not shown in the table, the same relationship persisted within St. John's, although differences there were not statistically significant. Thus, it may be that the teenage society, involvement in which is related to hedonism, is not so much the local teenage groups as the more cosmopolitan teenage society, an attribute of which is listening to popular recordings.

The Pr-P Value-Orientation Scale

Although the relationship, especially for boys, was not completely

TABLE LXVI

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING
TO TIME SPENT LISTENING TO TEENAGE MUSIC

Value- Orientation Scale	All Pupils Boys Girls	Hours per Week Listening to Teenage Music					Significant Differences (.05)
		Hrs.		Hrs.		0: 0 Hrs.	
		5-7: (280-29) (102-16) (178-13)	2-4: (1329-97) (687-53) (642-44)	3-10	1: 1 Hr.		
D-B	All pupils	5.41 (5.50)	5.49 (5.55)	5.86 (5.90)	5.76 (5.76)	$\begin{cases} 1>5-7, 2-4 \\ 0>5-7 \end{cases}$	1>5-7, 2-4
	Boys	5.32 (5.51)	5.50 (5.56)	5.82 (5.88)	5.87 (5.84)	$\begin{cases} 1>5-7, 2-4 \\ 0>5-7 \end{cases}$	1>2-4
	Girls	5.46 (5.50)	5.49 (5.54)	5.91 (5.94)	5.55 (5.62)	1>5-7, 2-4	1>5-7, 2-4
Pr-P	All pupils	5.64 (5.63)	5.71 (5.68)	5.52 (5.51)	5.42 (5.41)	2-4>1,0	2-4>1,0
	Boys	5.31 (5.26)	5.57 (5.56)	5.44 (5.41)	5.33 (5.31)	nil	nil
	Girls	5.83 (5.82)	5.85 (5.82)	5.66 (5.66)	5.60 (5.59)	nil	nil
I-L	All pupils	3.12	3.18	3.13	3.51	nil	not tested
	Boys	3.36	3.21	3.23	3.60	nil	not tested
	Girls	2.98	3.16	2.98	3.33	nil	not tested
I-Lg	All pupils	1.92 (1.90)	1.98 (1.99)	1.91 (1.89)	2.17 (2.17)	nil	nil
	Boys	2.15 (2.08)	1.97 (1.97)	1.92 (1.89)	2.19 (2.20)	nil	nil
	Girls	1.79 (1.81)	1.98 (2.01)	1.89 (1.90)	2.13 (2.10)	nil	nil
I-C	All pupils	2.85 (2.82)	2.80 (2.81)	2.88 (2.87)	3.08 (3.09)	nil	nil
	Boys	2.95 (2.84)	2.86 (2.86)	2.89 (2.87)	3.17 (3.19)	nil	nil
	Girls	2.80 (2.81)	2.73 (2.76)	2.88 (2.88)	2.90 (2.90)	nil	nil

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index IV.9 of Appendix C, on page 381.

linear, Pr-P scores were higher, and some of the differences were statistically significant, for pupils who spent more than one hour per week listening to teenage music.

The Relational Problem

While differences are not statistically significant, pupils who listened not at all to teenage music seem usually to have had higher I-Lg scores than listeners, and girls who listened most seem to have had lowest I-Lg scores. Again, the question of relationship between parentally-imposed sanctions and I-Lg scores seems worth studying.

On the I-C scale, differences, although not statistically significant, tend to suggest only that the non-listener was more Individualistically-oriented, less Collaterally-oriented than the listener, although I-C scores showed no tendency to decrease with increased listening. Whatever relationship there is seems to be with the fact rather than with the extent of listening to teenage music.

IV. SUMMARY

Pupils who listen not at all or very little to teenage music had higher D-B scores and lower Pr-P scores. Pupils in schools with very few teenagers had lower Pr-P scores and perhaps higher D-B scores. Similarly, there seems to be a tendency for those less involved with other local teenagers in that they stayed home in the evenings, dated infrequently, or attended church with parents rather than friends, to have had higher D-B scores. These are indications that the hypothesized relationship does exist, namely that involvement in teenage culture is related to hedonistic and present-time value-orientations.

Boys who stayed home in the evenings had higher I-Lg scores, and there were tendencies in this direction for non-dating girls and pupils who did not listen to teenage music. This avoidance of Intergenerational Lineality is as hypothesized and may indicate that these restrictions on behaviour are of parental rather than pupil choosing.

Contrary to prediction, pupils highly involved in organized youth groups had higher I-C scores than other pupils. However, pupils attending very small schools, pupils who did not listen to teenage music, and pupils, especially boys, who did not go out in the evenings (statistically significant) were less Collaterally-oriented than other pupils, indicating that, although there are exceptions, there does seem to be at least a weak relationship in the hypothesized direction between I-C scores and involvement with other teenagers.

Thus, some of the value-orientations of grade nine pupils were found to be related, usually slightly, to the extent of their involvement with other teenagers.

CHAPTER XIII

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS IN FAMILIES ENTREPRENEURIAL AND BUREAUCRATIC

The findings presented in this chapter offer only partial support to the notion that a pupil's value-orientations are related to whether his father is an entrepreneur or an employee of a bureaucracy.

Hypothesis V reads:

Where modern parental occupation is bureaucratic rather than entrepreneurial, then (a) the more often will middle-class high school pupils choose the Being value-orientation and the less often the Doing orientation; (b) the more often will they choose Present and the less often Future; and (c) the more often the Collateral and the Lineal, especially the Bureaucratic Lineal, and the less often the Individualistic value-orientation.

As the details of Index V.1 in Appendix C indicate, a father was classified as a bureaucrat if he had a secure year-round or almost year-round job in a large company or in a government department. Full-time workers in small retail stores, in construction companies or fish plants lacking the impersonal security associated with bureaucracy, were considered "non-bureaucratic employees." Considered entrepreneurial were fishermen, taxi-drivers, shop-keepers, doctors, etc., if they were not working as employees. A fourth "collateral" group were people working in partnership arrangements. The contrast among bureaucrats, entrepreneurs and employees will be made for white collar occupations, blue collar occupations, and for fishermen.

I. WHITE COLLAR ENTREPRENEURS, EMPLOYEES AND BUREAUCRATS

Table LXVII indicates the value-orientation scores of pupils grouped according to the entrepreneurial or bureaucratic nature of father's occupation. Table LXVIII presents the same information with St. John's pupils omitted. Three groups approximate a white collar middle to upper-middle class. Pupils in group

TABLE LXVII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS GROUPED ACCORDING TO
ENTREPRENEURIAL-BUREAUCRATIC NATURE OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Value- Orientation Scale	Entrepreneurs			Employees			Bureaucrats			Significant Differences (.05)		
	B (197)	0 (58)	1 (121)	2 (54)	3 (119)	4 (666)	5 (53)	6 (221)	7 (61)		8 (357)	9 (71)
M-S	3.37	3.71	3.75	4.50	3.55	3.62	3.34	3.77	4.16	3.84	4.25	$\begin{cases} 2>8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 1, 0, B \\ 9>8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 1, B \\ 7>5, 4, 3, B \\ 8>5, 4, B \\ 1, 4, 6>B \end{cases}$
D-B	5.68	5.48	5.46	5.11	5.59	5.68	5.36	5.56	5.45	5.51	5.19	nil
F-Pr	3.39	3.41	2.92	2.72	3.17	3.26	3.32	3.18	2.97	3.10	3.09	$\begin{cases} 0>2 \\ B, 4>2, 1 \end{cases}$
I-L	3.40	3.65	3.34	3.19	3.23	3.13	2.85	3.01	3.00	3.17	3.27	$\begin{cases} 0>8, 7, 6, 5, 4 \\ B>6, 5, 4 \end{cases}$
I-Lg	2.13	2.22	2.06	1.78	2.10	2.01	1.98	1.84	1.65	1.86	1.89	$\begin{cases} B, 0>8, 7, 6 \\ 3, 4>8, 7 \\ 1>7 \end{cases}$
I-Lb	1.26	1.42	1.30	1.41	1.13	1.12	.87	1.17	1.37	1.31	1.38	$\begin{cases} 8>5, 4 \\ B, 0, 1, 2, 7, 9>5 \end{cases}$
I-C	3.14	3.22	3.03	2.56	2.86	2.89	2.79	2.68	2.67	2.64	2.62	$\begin{cases} B>9, 8, 6, 4, 2 \\ 0>9, 8, 6, 2 \\ 1, 4>8 \end{cases}$

Note: The categories indicating Entrepreneurial-Bureaucratic Nature of Father's Occupation are difficult to describe briefly. Complete details are contained in Index V.1 of Appendix C, on page 381. Significant differences (.05) between pairs of means were identified only if an F test had revealed significant overall variation. "Nil" refers to an F not statistically significant (.05). For the index used in this chapter, most F tests that were statistically significant were significant beyond the .01 level, the most stringent level for which tables of F were available.

TABLE LXVIII

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS OUTSIDE ST. JOHN'S GROUPED
ACCORDING TO ENTREPRENEURIAL-BUREAUCRATIC NATURE OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Value-Orientation Scale	Entrepreneurs					Employees					Bureaucrats		Significant Differences (.05)
	B (196)	0 (57)	1 (113)	2 (44)	3 (116)	4 (653)	5 (53)	6 (191)	7 (35)	8 (322)	9 (50)		
M-S	3.36	3.68	3.66	4.41	3.52	3.60	3.34	3.65	3.89	3.79	4.08	$\begin{cases} 2 > 8, 6, 5, 4, 3, 1, 0, B \\ 9 > 5, 4, 3, B \\ 4, 8 > B \end{cases}$	
D-B	5.69	5.49	5.50	5.30	5.60	5.68	5.36	5.71	5.54	5.57	5.41	nil	
F-Pr	3.39	3.42	2.97	2.84	3.18	3.26	3.32	3.22	3.03	3.15	3.32	nil	
I-L	3.40	3.63	3.35	3.00	3.19	3.12	2.85	2.92	2.83	3.16	3.16	$\begin{cases} 0 > 8, 7, 6, 5, 4 \\ B > 6, 5, 4 \\ 1 > 6 \end{cases}$	
I-Lg	2.13	2.23	2.08	1.73	2.10	2.01	1.98	1.81	1.57	1.85	1.92	$\begin{cases} B, 0 > 8, 7, 6, 2 \\ 3, 4 > 8, 7, 6 \\ 1 > 7, 6 \end{cases}$	
I-Lb	1.26	1.39	1.28	1.27	1.09	1.11	.87	1.11	1.29	1.31	1.24	$\begin{cases} 8 > 5, 4 \\ B, 0, 1 > 5 \end{cases}$	
I-C	3.14	3.25	3.07	2.57	2.81	2.89	2.79	2.66	2.77	2.67	2.34	$\begin{cases} B > 9, 8, 6, 4, 2 \\ 0 > 9, 8, 6, 2 \\ 1 > 9, 8, 6 \\ 4 > 9, 8 \end{cases}$	

Note: The categories indicating Entrepreneurial-Bureaucratic Nature of Father's Occupation are difficult to describe briefly. Complete details are contained in Index V.1 of Appendix C, on page 381.

(2) have entrepreneurial fathers, fathers of group (9) pupils work in bureaucracies, while those of group (7) pupils are those white collar employees who do not work in bureaucracies.

Unfortunately, the three groups were quite small with n's of seventy or less, and no statistically significant differences were found among them. However, one noteworthy difference was the tendency, contrary to hypothesis, for children of the bureaucratic middle class to be less Present-oriented more Future-oriented than the entrepreneurial middle class. The tables also suggest that the children of middle-class entrepreneurs may be more Mastery-oriented than their bureaucratic or "employee" counterparts.

II. BLUE COLLAR ENTREPRENEURS, EMPLOYEES AND BUREAUCRATS

There are three groups in Table LXVII and Table LXVIII that approximate a lower-middle or upper-lower class. Fathers of group (1) children are the blue collar non-fishing entrepreneurs exemplified by the independent taxi operator, garage man or small shop-keeper. Group (8) have fathers who are full-time blue collar workers employed in a bureaucracy, while fathers of group (6) children comprise workers employed full-time but not in a bureaucracy.

Statistically significant differences were few but in the hypothesized direction. Pupils whose fathers are entrepreneurs had highest I-C scores, especially higher than pupils of bureaucratic fathers. They also had higher I-L scores. Indications are then that pupils whose fathers are blue collar entrepreneurs are more Individualistically-oriented, less Collaterally and less Lineally-oriented than pupils whose fathers work for someone else or in a bureaucracy.

Although differences are not significant, F-Pr scores were lower for the entrepreneurial than for the employee and bureaucratic groups, a finding counter to prediction, but similar to that for white collar groups.

III. THE FISHERMAN ENTREPRENEUR

Group (B) comprises pupils whose fathers are independent fishermen without sharemen, group (0) fathers are independent fishermen with helpers or sharemen, and group (5) fathers are sharemen helping in longliners or with traps.

From Tables LXVII and LXVIII it can be seen that of all eleven groups, it was the pupil whose father was an independent fisherman, his own boss, who valued Individualism most, Lineality and Collaterality least. Especially was this true for the pupils whose fishermen-fathers have sharemen helping them. Note, however, that the children of sharemen, that is subordinate fishermen, had the lowest I-L, especially I-Lb scores of all groups. These three groups have higher F-Pr scores than most other groups.

IV. ALL BUREAUCRATS AND ALL ENTREPRENEURS

Table LXIX places in one group all five classifications of entrepreneurs including those in partnership, in another group the four varieties of non-bureaucratic employees including part-time workers, and in a third group the blue collar and white collar bureaucrats. As hypothesized, pupils whose fathers were bureaucrats were usually less Individualistically-oriented than the children of entrepreneurs (and the differences were statistically significant), more Collaterally-oriented, and more oriented towards Intergenerational Lineality, although not more oriented towards Bureaucratic Lineality.

TABLE LXIX

MEAN SCORES ON VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES OF PUPILS OUTSIDE ST. JOHN'S REGROUPED
ACCORDING TO BUREAUCRATIC-ENTREPRENEURIAL NATURE OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Value- Orientation Scale	B-3 Entrepreneurs (526)	4-7 Employees (932)	8-9 Bureaucrats (372)	Significant Differences (.05)
M-S	3.58	3.61	3.83	8-9>4-7, B-3
D-B	5.57	5.66	5.55	nil
F-Pr	3.21	3.25	3.17	nil
I-L	3.33	3.05	3.16	B-3>4-7
I-Lg	2.09	1.95	1.86	B-3>8-9, 4-7
I-Lb	1.24	1.10	1.30	B-3, 8-9>4-7
I-C	3.02	2.83	2.63	B-3>4-7>8-9

Note: Complete details of these categories are contained in Index V.1 of Appendix C, on page 381.

V. SUMMARY

On the D-B scale, no differences were found between the children of entrepreneurs and those of bureaucrats. For the F-Pr scale, the data suggested, without statistically significant differences, that contrary to expectation, for children of non-fishing white collar and blue collar bureaucrats, Future orientations were higher, Present orientations lower than for children of similar entrepreneurs. Concerning the scales of the Relational problem, pupils whose fathers were blue collar entrepreneurs and most especially the children of independent fishermen, but not those of white collar entrepreneurs, were more Individualistically-oriented, less Collaterally-oriented than the children of bureaucrats, and less oriented towards Intergenerational Lineality, although not usually less oriented towards Bureaucratic Lineality.

CHAPTER XIV

SYNTHESIS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I. SYNOPSIS OF THE THEORY

The empirical section of this study tested the theory developed in the first six of the preceding chapters, namely, that the operational philosophy underlying one's behaviour can be predicted from a knowledge of his primary and secondary groups, particularly of the kind of community, family and peer groups in which he has been developing. One section of the theory, and the most important part, dealt with Florence Kluckhohn's taxonomy, the five problems she postulated as common to all human societies and the three variant value-orientations possible for each, and suggested, from the literature, that specified value-orientations would tend to cluster some at one end others at the opposite end of Redfield's peasant-urban continuum. It was hypothesized generally that pupils whose community, family and experience were more urban would be more apt to value Mastery, Doing, Future and Individualistic orientations, while pupils whose experience had been of a less urban, more peasant nature would be less apt to value those orientations, more likely to value Subject, Harmony, Being, Present, Past and Lineal orientations. Secondly, the connections between value-orientations and involvement in the teenage sub-culture were explored, and the hypothesis advanced that the more involved he was the greater a pupil's Being, Present, Collateral and Lineal orientations and the smaller his Doing, Future and Individualistic orientations. Also explored was the literature connecting pupil's value-orientations with father's occupation as entrepreneur or bureaucrat. The hypothesis was set up that the children of entrepreneurial fathers would be more inclined

towards Doing, Future and Individualistic orientations but less towards Being, Present, Lineal and Collateral orientations than those whose fathers were bureaucrats.

II. SUMMARY OF PROCEDURE

In March, 1964, the value-orientations of the grade nine pupils in Newfoundland, a province whose communities seemed to range widely in their position on a peasant-urban continuum, were studied by means of a questionnaire mailed to all the Anglican schools and administered in a two-hour sitting by the principals. Information about communities was supplied by the principal, by government officials, and by others. Returns were received from 2151 pupils of over 250 communities and attending 168 of the 175 Anglican schools offering grade nine.

The questionnaire completed by each pupil consisted of two parts. The second part included a series of questions about his family, including parental education, occupation, and community of origin, and about his own experiences, especially his involvement with mass media, church activities and peer groups. The first part, consisting of thirty problematic situations each requesting a ranking of three alternatives, yielded scores on seventeen value-orientation scales. These situations were based on an interview schedule developed by Florence Kluckhohn but adapted and enlarged for the present investigation with the help of pilot studies. The retest reliability of the final questionnaire was also tested.

The information relevant for the present study was extracted from the returned questionnaires, coded and punched on IBM cards. These were then sorted to produce numerous bivariate distributions for one-way analysis of variance and, where appropriate, for a modification of Duncan's Multiple Range

Test for determining the statistical significance of differences between means.

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: VALUE-ORIENTATION SCALES

In the section which follows, a summary of the findings of the preceding six chapters will be presented for each of the value-orientation scales, together with a discussion of the significance of these findings for the theory developed earlier.

The M-S Scale

Some 53 per cent of pupil choices between Mastery-over-Nature and Subject-to-Nature favoured the former, although for items dealing with an individual's success in life the percentage was 69, and for items about mankind's present or eventual domination of natural forces such as disease and weather but 33 per cent. This suggests greater fatalism in the latter area.

The hypotheses connecting higher M-S scores with the urban end of the peasant-urban continuum and lower scores with the peasant end received powerful support. On community variables, M-S scores varied directly with population, with St. John's pupils receiving highest scores of all. Scores varied inversely with isolation and religious homogeneity but directly with industrialization. M-S scores were higher in non-fishing communities and in communities where most homes had television sets. On one community variable only--whether there was municipal government--were there no differences.

For family variables findings were similar. Pupils from families whose characteristics were more urban had higher M-S scores. This was so

for father's occupation, mother's premarital occupation, father's education, mother's education, father's years on the U.S. bases, father's years overseas in wartime, and parents' mobility relative to their childhood communities and their fathers' occupations. Findings for father's years working outside Newfoundland were in the same direction but were not statistically significant. No relationship was found between M-S scores and father's years working elsewhere in Newfoundland.

Relationships with M-S scores were found for only four of the variables having to do with pupil experience. Pupils whose previous residential experience was more urban had higher M-S scores. As hypothesized, the relationships of M-S scores with church attendance and, particularly for boys, Sunday school attendance were inverse, but with exposure to television direct. Involvement with church youth groups and exposure to mass media other than television were found to be unrelated to M-S scores. M-S scores and hours per week watching television were directly related.

These findings suggest that the more the pupil, his family and his community are involved in more urban society, the less in the traditional peasant-like Newfoundland outport, the greater his confidence in himself and mankind in general to be able to master nature, to improve whatever his "lot" happens to be.

The M-H Scale

Although M-H scores were somewhat higher than M-S scores, the findings with respect to them were quite similar. On community variables they paralleled those for the M-S scale except that significant differences were usually more frequent. They were also more pronounced with respect to boys' attendance at Sunday school and church, and mother's premarital occupation,

although less pronounced for pupil's residential experience, father's occupation, father's previous residence, years overseas and years on the U.S. bases.

The D-B Scale

The relationship between a pupil's D-B score and the position of himself, his community or his parents on a peasant-urban continuum was, unlike for M-S and M-H scores, neither simple nor linear. Rather, especially for community variables, did the D-B curve tend to peak in the center. Doing was usually less prized, Being more prized at both the urban end and the peasant end of the continuum, with higher D-B scores found in intermediate communities. Statistically significant differences supported this for population and strength of transportation link. Although differences were not statistically significant for proportion fishing, degree of industrialization and television coverage, they supported the curvilinear relationship. For family variables, differences were weak and not statistically significant, but they lent support to this generalized finding. For example, pupils whose fathers were strong seasonal workers or fishermen working elsewhere in the off season had D-B scores higher not only than those whose fathers were fishermen not otherwise employed or in other traditional occupations, but higher also than those whose fathers were in white collar or professional occupations. On indices of mother's occupation, father's education, mother's education, although not for father's travels, scores were lower at the extremes than at the means.

Indications were that pupils more involved in the teenage culture--those who listened to teenage music, attended schools with larger teenage groups, went out frequently in the evenings, dated heavily, or attended

church with friends rather than parents--had lower D-B scores. Contrariwise, those more heavily involved in church activities--attending Sunday school or church services and perhaps church sponsored youth groups--tended to be more Doing-oriented, less Being-oriented than those less involved. These latter findings applied within St. John's as well as outside. Perhaps church involvement provides an antidote to the hedonism of urban society and teenage culture.

The tendency towards hedonism in the large, industrialized, non-isolated, non-fishing Newfoundland community covered by television matches Spindler's description of emerging American society.¹ Emerging Newfoundland society--those transitional families and communities in intermediate positions along peasant-urban continua--seems less hedonistic, more oriented towards Doing or work-success, values characteristic, according to Spindler, of traditional or frontier America. Perhaps the lower D-B scores of the Newfoundland pupil whose community is extremely peasant, whose parents are illiterate, father a fisherman or otherwise traditionally employed reflect partly a quieter pace of living with perhaps a slight measure of futility. However, these differences should not be exaggerated. Newfoundland pupils were on the average highly Doing-oriented with a mean score on the eight-item scale of 5.56, and for virtually all groups among which comparisons have been drawn the means ranged between 5.00 and 6.00. The exception was St. John's pupils whose mean score was 4.89.

¹George D. Spindler, "Education in a Transforming American Culture," Harvard Educational Review, 25 (Summer, 1955), 145-156. Also, see Jacob W. Getzels, "The Acquisition of Values in School and Society," The High School in a New Era, Francis S. Chase and Harold A. Anderson, editors (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 146-61.

The D-BB Scale

Since pupils are formally committed to aspects of Being-in-Becoming, it is perhaps not surprising that the respondents of the present study preferred this orientation over Being 65 per cent of the time, and that their D-BB scores (4.90) were somewhat lower than their D-B scores (5.56).

While on most variables there were for D-BB scores differences neither statistically significant nor suggestive, a handful of differences were found. St. John's pupils had scores lower than those in smaller places. Outside St. John's, scores were higher for pupils in communities where a majority of homes had sets than for those in communities entirely without television. Pupils of superordinate fathers had lower scores than pupils of non-superordinate fathers. Pupils whose fathers had moved into a more urban area to live had lower scores than those of the non-mobile or downward mobile. However, pupils who were themselves non-mobile residentially had higher scores than pupils mobile upwards or downwards. When fathers had longer association with the military, either in long war-time service overseas, or as workers on U.S. bases (not statistically significant), pupils had higher D-BB scores. Also, although differences were not statistically significant, the data seem to suggest that pupils in highly industrialized communities have lower scores and pupils in extremely isolated communities have higher scores.

To synthesize these findings is difficult. There was no relationship between D-BB scores and most of the indices of the peasant-urban continuum. The few differences that did exist revealed no consistent pattern. Further study, including comparisons of high scorers with low scorers, and analysis of individual items of the scale, seems indicated.

The F-P Scale

In preferring Future to Past for 79 per cent of the choices and Present to Past 81 per cent of the time, respondents indicated a relatively strong rejection of the Past orientation. Concerning F-P differences among groups, there were but four findings with statistical significance. Pupils, especially girls, who attended Sunday school had lower scores, that is, they were less Future-oriented, more Past-oriented, than those not in attendance. Secondly, pupils who had previously resided in more-urban areas (the residentially downward mobile) had lower F-P scores than non-mobiles, who, in turn, had lower scores than the upward mobile. Two other findings seem explicable only by attributing them to chance. One indicates that pupils in communities of 200-299 population had scores higher than pupils in either larger or smaller communities. The other is that pupils spending two hours weekly in activities in church sponsored youth organizations had scores lower than those spending either more time or less time at these organizations. Some differences not statistically significant were consistent, others not consistent with the hypotheses. In all, very little relationship was found between a pupil's positions on peasant-urban continua and the F-P scale.

The F-Pr Scale

Although contrary to prediction, the consensus of findings for the F-Pr scale was that pupils with reference groups at the urban end of the continuum were usually more Present-oriented less Future-oriented than those whose community and family tended towards the peasant end. St. John's pupils, and to a lesser extent those of Bell Island, had lower F-Pr scores than pupils in smaller communities. In industrialized and non-fishing communities, scores were usually lower than in less industrialized communities

or those where fishing was virtually the sole occupation. Although differences were not statistically significant, scores varied inversely with the strength of the transportation link. In communities where half the homes had television sets, scores were lower than where the television coverage was less adequate. Pupils who had spent substantial portions of their lives in communities more urban than their present community, had lower F-Pr scores than the non-mobile, who in turn had lower scores than those whose previous residential experience had been less urban. Similar were findings for father's occupation, mother's premarital occupation, mother's education and, although without statistical significance, father's education. Similarly, when fathers had worked for a long time outside Newfoundland, pupils' F-Pr scores were lower. Children of non-mobile parents (occupationally or residentially) were less Present-oriented more Future-oriented than upward or downward mobiles with their urban connections. The pupil highly involved in church organizations seemed to have higher F-Pr scores. Involvement with mass media, Sunday school or church services seemed to be unrelated to F-Pr scores. In all, findings were on the whole in line with Spindler's contention that modern urban society is tending to be hedonistic and oriented towards the present.

Leaving the peasant-urban analysis for the bureaucratic-entrepreneurial analysis, the findings were without statistical significance, but suggested, counter to prediction, that for non-fishing white collar and blue collar groups, the children of bureaucrats had higher F-Pr scores than those of entrepreneurs.

The Pr-P Scale

Scores on the Pr-P scale were analyzed, not for relationships with

the peasant-urban continuum, nor with the entrepreneurial-bureaucratic index, but only with respect to involvement with teenage peer groups. The few differences there were, were as hypothesized, namely that Pr-P scores vary directly with involvement. Size of school peer group was related, in that St. John's pupils had highest Pr-P scores, and that pupils in tiny schools usually of one room had lowest scores. No relationships were found with involvement in local peer groups--hours per week at extracurricular activities or youth groups, evenings per week out with peers, frequency of dating, or whether church attendance was with friends or parents. However, a slight relationship was found with involvement in the general teenage culture, in that pupils listening more than one hour a week to teenage music had higher Pr-P scores than those who did not. There would seem to be something to the notion that involvement in teenage culture and larger school peer groups is related, at least slightly, to higher Present-time value-orientations.

The I-Lg Scale

Their generally higher I-Lg scores suggest, counter to hypothesis, that pupils closer to the peasant end of the continuum place more value on being Individualistic, on deciding and doing things on their own, rather than having decisions made for them by community or family leaders. In fishing communities, even those only partly fishing, scores were higher than in non-fishing settlements. Children of fathers in more peasant occupations had higher I-Lg scores, with the children of the independent fisherman-entrepreneur, although not of the helper-shareman, having highest scores. Similarly, scores varied inversely with parental education, with television coverage in the community, and, to some extent, directly with religious homogeneity,

although neither size of community nor strength of transportation link was consistently related. On certain other variables, tendencies, while without statistical significance, were in the same direction--on mother's premarital occupation and father's travels. Parental non-mobility and higher pupil I-Lg scores may also go together. However, no differences were found for pupil mobility, nor involvement with church activities or mass media.

No statistically significant difference related I-Lg scores to peer group involvement, although slight differences seemed to suggest that low involvement in the local peer groups or with general teenage culture tended to be associated with higher I-Lg scores. Further study seems indicated to see whether these higher scores for less involved teenagers are related to feelings of rebellion against strict parents.

For the entrepreneurial-bureaucratic index, higher I-Lg scores were obtained by the children of entrepreneurs than by those of bureaucratic or other employees, although for white collar and professional groups differences were not statistically significant.

The I-Lb Scale

Scores on the I-Lb scale indicate the extent a respondent values being his own boss rather than working for a company, and making one's own decisions while working for someone else rather than having superordinates make them.

There were two major findings for this scale. First, higher scores were, with one exception, associated with the urban end, lower scores with the peasant end of the continuum. Many statistically significant differences indicated this to be so for community variables: transportation link, industrialization, proportion Anglican, television coverage and, for

the most part, for population and proportion fishing. Pupils whose fathers had worked on U.S. bases had reliably higher I-Lb scores than those whose fathers had not. Similarly, when fathers were non-mobile residentially, pupils had lower scores than those whose fathers had moved from more urban or more peasant communities. For all the other family variables, findings, although not statistically significant, pointed rather conclusively to the same association. For pupil experiences, differences mostly significant connecting non-mobile pupils, high church involvement and low television viewing with low I-Lb scores all indicated support for this relationship.

The second major finding, a partial exception to the first, was that children of independent fishermen, although not of sharemen, had unusually high I-Lb scores, almost as high as those of fathers working full time in blue collar, white collar or professional occupations. This seems related to the findings that towards the extreme peasant end of the indices for population and proportion fishing, I-Lb scores reversed their downward tendency.

These findings seem to suggest, that, except for the high Individualistic value-orientation of pupils whose fathers are fishing alone or with one or more helper-sharemen, pupils closer to the peasant end of the continuum are desirous of the job security that comes with the bureaucracy, while those closer to the urban end, perhaps taking job security for granted, desire Individualism at work.

The I-L Scale

It should be borne in mind when considering findings on the overall I-L scale that its two constituent scales were related in opposite directions to the peasant-urban continuum. When combined, they tended to cancel each

other. On the whole, findings, although much weaker, tended to resemble those of the I-Lb scale, with higher scores associated usually with urban characteristics. Generally, as the statistically significant differences indicated, the larger the settlement the greater the scores, with St. John's highest. In non-fishing industrialized communities and in those with strong transportation links, scores were higher. Neither television coverage, proportion fishing nor proportion Anglican seemed related to I-L scores, examples of the cancelling effect. Findings on the indices of pupil experience pointed to the same relationship. Those active in church sponsored organizations had lower scores, with differences statistically significant. Similarly, although differences were not reliable, those not attending church, or not attending Sunday school tended to have higher scores. Scores seemed to increase with television viewing. Scores of residentially mobile pupils seemed higher than those of non-mobiles.

A group of findings suggested an exception to the generalization. Fishermen-entrepreneurs with or without sharemen had highest I-L scores. When community population dipped below 300, I-L scores rose. Similarly, although there were no statistically significant differences for family variables, there were indications that on father's occupation, the children of fishermen and others traditionally employed had scores higher than those of more urban groups. Also, the few mothers premaritally employed in fishing had children with unusually high scores.

Next to independent fishermen, blue collar entrepreneurs had I-L scores higher, at statistically significant levels, than other groups. Sharemen had lowest scores, followed by blue collar and white collar employees, with bureaucrats and white collar entrepreneurs in between.

Involvement in teenage culture seemed related to low I-L scores, with

high scores being attained by those not involved in youth groups (statistically significant), those not dating and those not listening to teenage music. However, in larger schools scores were significantly higher than in smaller ones.

The I-C Scale

Larger school peer groups and more evenings per week out with peers were related, at statistically significant levels, to lower I-C scores. Pupils listening to teenage music seemed to have lower scores also, although the differences were not reliable. On the other hand, greater involvement with organized youth groups was related, and differences were statistically significant, to higher I-C scores. Thus, there seems to have been at best a very slight factual basis to support the prediction that involvement in teenage sub-culture is directly related to low I-C scores.

Pupils whose fathers were independent fishermen with or without sharemen, followed by those whose fathers were blue collar entrepreneurs, had higher I-C scores than most other groups, including sharemen, other employees, bureaucrats, and white collar entrepreneurs. Most differences were statistically significant. These findings coupled with similar ones on the I-L scale suggest that it is the children of the fisherman-entrepreneur and the blue collar entrepreneur rather than of the white collar entrepreneur who are highly Individualistic.

Summary

Taken all together, the findings indicate that for some of the value-orientations the peasant-urban continuum is a very accurate model. For M-S and M-H scores especially, relationships with the continuum were powerful, linear, and in the predicted direction. Relationships for the F-Pr scale,

although opposite to those predicted, were also linear and usually powerful. Similarly in the direction opposite to that predicted, the relationships with the continuum for the I-Lg scale were linear although somewhat less powerful than for the F-Pr scale, and with no relationships for some major variables. I-Lb scores were as predicted and generally powerfully linear except for the tendency for the scores of children of independent fishermen to curve upward and be considerably higher than father's position on the continuum would suggest. Overall I-L scores, also in the predicted direction, were more weakly related to the continuum and showed the same tendency to curve upward at the peasant end. D-B scores indicated strong relationships with the peasant-urban continuum but in a curvilinear--peaked at the center--rather than in a linear fashion. Little can be said for the D-BB and F-P scales, except that statistically significant differences for the indices used were so few that the model seemed almost useless as a device for predicting pupils' scores.

A second model, relating five value-orientations to pupil involvement in teenage sub-culture, was found to have some predictive validity. For Pr-P and D-B scales, relationships, although not powerful, were about as predicted and were supported by several statistically significant differences. For I-C, I-L and I-Lg scales, relationships were usually in the directions predicted by the model but even weaker and with less statistical significance.

A third model related several of a pupil's value-orientations to the entrepreneurial or bureaucratic nature of father's occupation. The model was somewhat useful for I-L, I-Lg, I-Lb and I-C scales, but not for D-B or F-Pr scales; it was useful for blue collar and fishing occupations, but not for white collar or professional groups.

IV. FINDINGS: USEFUL INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Of all indices, those measuring community characteristics were most useful in predicting value-orientation scores. Especially useful in generating statistically significant differences was the population index, but strength of transportation, proportion fishing and degree of industrialization were also important predictors, as were, to a slightly lesser extent, television coverage and proportion Anglican.

With a few exceptions, indices of family characteristics were less useful. Several, especially present status of father's occupation, father's years working elsewhere in Newfoundland, and father's years working outside Newfoundland, were of little or no use. On the other hand, mother's education and father's occupation were especially useful, as were father's education and mother's premarital occupation. Several indices of mobility had a unique contribution to make. Father's years on U.S. bases, and father's years overseas in wartime had some limited usefulness.

Certain indices of pupil experiences, especially those indicating involvement in church activities and with television, were helpful. Pupil's residential experience, a mobility index, was especially revealing. Indices of exposure to mass media other than television, although interesting, were not useful as predictors of value-orientations.

Concerning indices of involvement in the teenage culture, involvement in extracurricular activities had nothing to contribute. Since no single index was especially important here, most had some contribution to make to the composite picture.

V. FINDINGS: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE THEORY

Despite the scarcity of directly relevant empirical research, earlier chapters of this report attempted to suggest, through extensive surveys of the writings of knowledgeable people, what the dominant value-orientations might be for peasant society, for modern American urban society as a whole and for its social classes, for traditional and emergent Newfoundland society, and for teenagers. These suggestions will now be reviewed in the light of findings from the present study. It should be noted, however, that the present study was concerned only indirectly with validating these profiles.

Value-Orientations of the Teenage Sub-Culture

The value-orientations found for Newfoundland teenagers, as set forth in Chapter VIII, resembled very markedly those predicted in Chapter V for teenagers generally. Exactly as suggested, their Time profile was F>Pr>P, their Relational profile C>L>I, with Doing and Mastery of first-order importance, but Subject-to-Nature and Being not negligible. The findings in Chapter XII that for pupils more involved with other teenagers Collaterality and Lineality were somewhat higher but Individualism lower, Being higher but Doing lower, Present higher and Past lower than for pupils less involved, support, although not strongly, the predicted association of the teenage sub-culture with hedonism and non-Individualism.

Peasant Society

One would have expected the value-orientations held by pupils nearest the peasant ends of the various continua (1) to approximate those suggested in Chapter III as dominant in peasant society generally, and (2) to approxi-

mate them more than those of other Newfoundland pupils.

The first expectation was met in that pupils with the most peasant classifications of community, family and experiences tended, as suggested, to be oriented towards Subject-to-Nature rather than to Mastery-over-Nature, to Present rather than to Future, and to Intergenerational Lineality rather than to Individualism. For them, as for Newfoundland pupils generally, Harmony-with-Nature turned out to be a close third, not too different from the second-order position suggested in Chapter III. That Collaterality in receiving first-order preference was higher even than forecast seems to reflect in part the values of peasant society, but largely that respondents were teenagers.

The second expectation was met only partially. Although pupils more involved in peasant society did have lower M-S scores, and although Present was still the first-order Time orientation, their F-Pr scores were higher than those less involved. While this may be interpreted as casting doubt on the value-orientations suggested in Chapter III as typical of peasant society, a likelier explanation of this and of the Past orientation's being not second-order but very definitely third, is that the pupils in these most peasant communities reflect a general optimism that changes now taking place in the rest of Newfoundland, as described in Chapter VI, will soon affect them. After allowing for the optimism of grade nine pupils' being somewhat greater than that of the other members of the community, the suggestion is that the peasant on the threshold of urbanization is less Present-oriented, more Future-oriented than either peasant society in general, or urban society.

While I-Lb scores were lower,¹ perhaps suggesting a desire for job

¹I-Lb scores of the children of independent fishermen were, however, quite high.

security, I-Lg scores, although Lineality was still dominant, were unexpectedly higher for pupils more involved in peasant society. This suggests either that Lineality may not be as characteristic of peasant society as supposed, or that peasant society in Newfoundland differs from that elsewhere in its greater stress on Individualism in family and community situations. The Newfoundlanders' settling in remote areas and avoiding local government controls support the second explanation. Further studies including analysis of the items comprising the I-Lg scale may be fruitful in pursuing this question.

In short, the findings imply that the suggestions made in Chapter III about the value-orientations typical of peasant society may have been somewhat incorrect, or, more likely, that for some of the value-orientations Newfoundland "peasants" are different from those elsewhere, that, as Kluckhohn's theory and findings seem to suggest, there may be more than one profile of value-orientations for peasant societies.

Modern American Urban Society

The Newfoundland findings indirectly support some but not all of the suggestions made in Chapter IV about the value-orientations of modern American urban society.

In general. One would have expected the value-orientations of pupils in St. John's, the most urban of the Newfoundland communities, to resemble most those suggested in Chapter IV for modern American urban society as a whole. In part this suggestion was met since Mastery-over-Nature and Doing were of first-order importance in St. John's. However, Present rather than Future Time orientation was dominant in St. John's and more dominant there than in less urban centers. This suggests that the importance of the Present

orientation may, for modern American urban society, have been somewhat underestimated, that of the Future-orientation overestimated in Chapter IV.¹ That Individualism was of third-order importance in St. John's, though slightly more important than elsewhere in Newfoundland, suggests that the dominance of this value-orientation also was overestimated. Doing, while dominant in St. John's, was less dominant than in less urban areas. Thus, of the four value-orientations relating to the American Creed--Mastery, Doing, Future and Individualism--the findings of the present study suggest unequivocal support for the dominance of only one in modern American urban society--Mastery. These findings imply that whatever the validity of this profile of dominance for the American frontier, or for Kluckhohn's Texans and Mormons of the present-day farming frontier, it may be a very misleading picture of the value-orientations dominant in modern American urban society, especially for teenagers.

Social classes. Although this study was not designed to study relationships between social class and value-orientations, certain inferences seem justifiable. One might classify as middle class those pupils, for example, whose fathers were white collar workers or whose mothers had high school education, and as lower class those whose mothers were functionally illiterate or whose fathers worked only part-time at unskilled jobs. If so, the value-orientation profiles of these "middle classes" epitomized, as suggested in Chapter IV, those of the total sample, although the specifics of the profile differed from those suggested there. The "lower classes,"

¹There is also the possibility that these differences may reflect different urban cultures, that the cultural evolution implied by urbanization may take somewhat different directions for different peoples.

again as suggested, placed more stress on Subject-to-Nature, less on Mastery than did "middle classes" but unexpectedly less emphasis on present, more on Future, with D-B scores being curvilinear and highest for lower-middle and upper-lower groups. Also, lower classes were not simply less Individualistic, but rather did they have higher I-Lg scores, lower I-Lb scores. These findings in being different from and more complex than those predicted suggest the need for empirical studies designed specifically to measure the value-orientations of the various social classes.

Social classes entrepreneurial and bureaucratic. The suggestions of Chapter IV, based largely on research by Miller and Swanson, that the value-orientations of the new bureaucratic middle classes were different from those of the older entrepreneurial middle classes received, as set forth in Chapter XIII, virtually no support from the present study, although it should be noted that there were few respondents in these categories. Contrary to expectation, the children of middle class bureaucrats did not place more emphasis on Present or Being, and less on Future, Doing or Mastery. Neither did they value Individualism less nor Bureaucratic Lineality more. However, the suggested value-orientations did have somewhat more validity when applied to differences between entrepreneurial and bureaucratic blue collar workers and fishermen.

Summary. The differences between the findings of the present study and the suggestions from the literature about modern American urban society imply strongly the need for more empirical research into the value-orientations of that society and its subdivisions.

Value-Orientations in Changing Newfoundland

As urbanization affects Newfoundland's communities and people, their value-orientations can in time be expected to change. This study found pupils more involved in urban society to value Mastery-over-Nature, Present, Intergenerational Lineality, and perhaps Being more than pupils less involved, but to value Subject-to-Nature, Future, Bureaucratic Lineality, and perhaps Doing, less. Quite possibly change will be in the direction of the former, away from the latter value-orientations. It is also probable that as Newfoundlanders experience urbanization, it will come easier for those whose value-orientations are already more urban than for those whose value-orientations are less urban. If the finding that the values of the most urban Newfoundland pupils were rather different from those suggested for modern American urban society implies that different urbanizing societies may develop somewhat different profiles of value-orientations, it may be that urbanization will affect the value-orientations of different Newfoundlanders differently.

Dominant and Variant Value-Orientations

The present investigation demonstrated the usefulness of Florence Kluckhohn's rationale and instrumentation for studying intracultural differences in values, but suggested for emerging and industrialized societies certain necessary elaborations on the theory. It found Lineality to be not one dimension but two--Bureaucratic Lineality, having to do with lineal relationships in large organizations,¹ and Intergenerational Lineality, having to do with the authority of parents and elders--each related differently to pupils' positions on various peasant-urban continua. Mastery-over-

¹The lineal relationship in bureaucracy is not restricted to the occupation behaviour sphere, but is found also in recreation, education, religion, government and other spheres.

Nature seemed also to be divisible into the two dimensions of the Mastery of an individual over his own environment or destiny, and Mastery of mankind in general over nature. Further analysis, especially factor analysis, of the items making up the various scales and of all the items together, would now seem justified.

VI. NEEDED RESEARCH

The present study has demonstrated the productivity of studying differing world views and their correlates empirically, by means of written questionnaires. However, before the relationships among value-orientations, reference groups, upbringing and schooling can be predicted accurately, further studies are necessary.

1. The instruments need refining. At present the value-orientation scales are but crude measuring devices with low but statistically significant reliability. The scales that have been found useful can be improved through the usual procedures of item analysis, increasing the number of items, and, if possible, reducing their length. Once refined, the instruments can be used to register more minute differences with smaller samples.
2. Some of the data made available by the present study need further analysis. For example, the independent variables used as inputs accounted for very little of the variance for F-P and D-BB scores. Perhaps an examination of the original protocols would suggest more productive inputs. Also, of the seventeen value-orientation scales for which scores are available, six were not examined in detail. Especially profitable might be probing the peasant-urban correlates of Mm-S and Mi-S scores,

and perhaps into the relationships between indices of peer involvement and scores on the C-L scale.

3. Which of the variables indicated by the present study to be related to value-orientations are the crucial ones? In the present study, the only variables held constant were sex and St. John's-outside St. John's. Studies holding constant some variables while analysing the relationship of others to value-orientations, seem desirable, for example, studies within a specific community. Refined instruments able to detect differences with small samples would be useful. So would analyses of a correlational type, including factor analysis of items to see if scales are unidimensional.
4. Studies similar to the present need to be carried out in Newfoundland with other age groups, and with the same group a few years from now, and perhaps once again twenty-five years from now. Parent-child comparisons seem important. A study relating the scores of these pupils, especially on the D-B and M-S scales, with their marks in the grade nine public examinations would be most useful.
5. Related studies seem appropriate in other provinces and other countries, in large urban centers to reveal differences in world views by different social classes, and among different religious and ethnic groups. Especially worthwhile in exploring whether urbanization induces similar value-orientations everywhere would be replications of the present study among other modernizing peoples.
6. Explorations of the correlates in large-scale organizations of Collaterality, Individualism and Bureaucratic Lineality would seem important, particularly their relationship to effectiveness.

VII. IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

The present study raises some questions about the school's treatment of differences in values.

1. A great deal is heard these days about individual differences, that pupils are different, and that schools, instead of catering to a mythical average, should develop to the maximum each pupil's potential. Some school systems are beginning to prepare pupils differently for different occupations, some educators are being made aware of the possibly different needs of pupils from different social classes, but perhaps more than anything else, catering to individual differences has come to mean adapting curriculum, methods and grouping procedures to pupil intelligence.

This study has dealt with another kind of difference in pupils to which methods and curriculum may need to be adapted--namely, the philosophies of life that pupils hold. Evidence has been presented indicating that pupils' philosophies differ, and that they differ in ways that can be predicted from a knowledge of such factors as the kind of community in which the pupils live, their kind of family and the kind of groups in which they are active. To what extent should the school adapt its aims and its methods to differences in values?

2. Should not teachers, administrators and other educators be aware that the world views of pupils differ? Perhaps faculties of education have a dual responsibility here: (a) to see to it that teachers become aware of pupil differences in world view and the variables underlying them, and (b), perhaps more importantly at this stage, to investigate the area very thoroughly, to identify clearly the world views common among different classifications of pupils and adults, to explore relationships

with pupil behaviour, aspiration, teaching methods, and achievement.

3. Is the school justified in selecting for inculcation, as it seems to do, some value-orientations as opposed to others? For example, should Mastery-over-Nature be taught to a population who believe strongly that nature is and should be beyond man's control? Should the school teach Bureaucratic Lineality to a group where Individualism is dominant? Contrariwise, if pupils from peasant communities are destined for urban living and desire to partake of it, are not the schools obliged to prepare them by stressing the appropriate world view?
4. If it is accepted as the school's duty to convert, say to the urban way of life, to the emergent value-orientations characteristic of modern urban society--Mastery, Being, Present and perhaps Lineal orientations,--how can this best be done? Also, for most efficient learning, should one, for example, place in a Subject-oriented Newfoundland community a Mastery-oriented teacher or would it be better to place there one slightly more Mastery-oriented than most people there? Do we place Individualistic teachers in Lineal communities, Doing-oriented teachers in St. John's schools, hedonistic teachers in transitional communities? What text-book content and what methodology would be most appropriate? Research of a developmental nature would seem indicated before adequate answers can be made to this last series of questions.

VIII. CONCLUDING STATEMENT

This study was undertaken to add behaviour-predicting concepts to the administrator's understanding of the people among whom and for whom the school operates, and thereby to reduce the possibility of unanticipated

consequences of his decision-making and action. If this foray into the science of school administration leads in some small way to an improvement in the art, it will have been worthwhile.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE NEWFOUNDLAND HIGH SCHOOL STUDY

STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Name.....
(Last Name) (Christian or Given Names)

In what settlement is your school located?.....

About one-quarter of the grade nine students in Newfoundland are being asked to complete this questionnaire. It deals with your ideas about life, and asks some questions about yourself, your family and your friends.

Your answers will be held in the strictest confidence. We ask your name only in case we wish to contact you later on. Place the completed questionnaire in the envelope and seal it, letting nobody see your answers.

When answering questions, please proceed carefully. DO NOT RUSH. The questionnaire takes about two hours to complete.

You will be interested in knowing that when the replies have been returned, your answers will be coded and punched on cards, so that an electronic computer can be used in studying them.

A. YOUR IDEAS ABOUT LIFE

Each item in this section tells a story with three people in it, or describes a situation with three alternatives. Mark 1 in front of whichever alternative (A, B, or C) you believe is best. Then, mark 2 in front of the alternative which you feel is second best.

For Example: Three people were naming their favourite colours.

- A One said black.
/ B One said white.
2 C One said grey.

Since you prefer light colours, you decide you agree most with B. So you write 1 in front of B. You like grey second-best, so you write 2 in front of C.

Remember, as far as we are concerned, there are no right answers and no wrong answers in this section. Your PERSONAL OPINION is what we want to find out. It takes 2-3 minutes for each question. Some of them will seem hard, but read them carefully and do your best. DO NOT OMIT ANY QUESTION.

DON'T FORGET TO READ EVERY WORD CAREFULLY, SPENDING ABOUT TWO MINUTES AT EACH QUESTION.

1. Three men spend their time in different ways when they have no work to do. (This means when they are not actually on the job.)
 - A One man spends most of his spare time learning or trying out things which will help him in his work.
 - B One man spends most of his spare time with his friends, enjoying himself, chatting, and so on.
 - C One man spends most of his spare time by himself, studying, not things which he will ever use to accomplish anything, nor things which will help him enjoy life, but things that will help him develop his understanding.
2. Three high school pupils were talking about music and singers.
 - A One said, "I don't think music and singers are getting any worse or any better. Every generation likes its own music and singers best."
 - B One said, "I think music and singers have improved over the years, and as time goes on they will probably be even better than today."
 - C One said, "Music and singers seem to be getting worse all the time. They were better years ago."
3. Here are three ways of raising money for an important community project that everyone agrees is necessary and important.
 - A The people could all meet together and all agree on a way to raise the money, perhaps have a social or something.
 - B The community leaders could get together and figure out a way to raise the money, perhaps have a social or something.
 - C Each family might be held responsible for paying its own fair share.
4. A certain man is becoming quite well off (prosperous). People are looking at this in different ways.
 - A Some people say that his prosperity is probably due to his own efforts and his knowledge of new ideas.
 - B Some people say that his prosperity is probably because he is a good upright man who lives and works in the right and proper ways.
 - C Some people say that his prosperity is probably due mostly to good luck. After all, a man doesn't have much control over what happens to him.
5. The members of a group have a large sum of money, and there are several things for which it could be used. It is going to be hard to decide what

to do with the money.

- A There are some groups like this where the older persons, or recognized leaders, or the more important members would make the decision. Usually everybody else would accept what they say without much discussion, since they are the ones who are used to deciding such things, and they are the ones who have had the most experience and are usually the wisest.
- B There are some groups like this where everyone holds his own opinions, and they decide the matter by vote. They do what the largest number want, even though there are still people who disagree with the decision and object to it.
- C There are some groups like this where most members have a part in making the plans. Lots of different members talk, but nothing is done until almost everyone comes to agree as to what is best to be done.

6. A father died and left his children a valuable piece of land. They can do with it as they please, except that they must not sell it outside the family. All the children are grown up and live near each other. There seem to be three things they can do with the land.

- A The land can be divided among the children, or one of them may own it by paying the others for their shares.
- B The land can be kept as it is with everybody benefitting from it, but under the direction of the oldest able person.
- C The land can be kept as it is with everybody benefitting from it, but making use of it together. When something must be done, they do it together, or choose one of themselves to take care of things.

7. There were three men who fished part of the year, and left home to work in the lumberwoods at other times during the year. They liked this life, but for different reasons.

- A One man liked having the two jobs because he was often alone on the sea and in the forest, where he could think about nature. He felt that he was, over the years, coming to understand more and more about the meaning of the world and about himself.
- B One man liked having the two jobs because between them he could keep from being idle. He felt it was important to work regularly to do useful things, and to do them as well as he could.
- C One man liked having the two jobs because it gave him a chance to travel. He could meet more people, have more friends, enjoy himself more.

8. Suppose a man has had some very bad luck. Say his house burned down, or he has to give up working for a while because his wife is ill. He and his family must have help from someone, beyond what the government will provide, if they are going to get through the winter. There are different ways of getting help.

- A It would be best if he depended mostly on his brothers and sisters, or close friends to help him out as much as they could.

- B It would be best for him to try to raise the money on his own from people who are neither relatives, nor close friends, nor his employer.
- C It would be best for him to go to his employer, or his clergyman, or an older more important relative (like father, grandfather, uncle, aunt) who is used to managing things in the group, and ask him to arrange for help until things get better.
9. People often have very different ideas about what has gone before, and what we can expect in life. Here are three ideas.
- A Some people believe it best to give most attention to what is happening in the present. They say that the past has gone, and the future is much too uncertain to count on. Things do change, but it is sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse, so in the long run it is about the same. These people believe the best way to live is to keep those of the old ways that you can--or that you like--but be ready to accept the new ways which will help to make life easier and better as you live from year to year.
- B Some people think that the ways of the past were the most right and the best, and as changes come, things get worse. These people think the best way to live is to work hard and keep up the old ways and try to bring them back when they are lost.
- C Some people believe that it is almost always the ways of the future--the ways which are still to come--which will be the best, and they say that even though there are sometimes small setbacks, change brings improvements in the long run. These people think the best way to live is to look a long time ahead, work hard, and give up many things now so that the future will be better.
10. Three boys who were planning to be fishermen were talking about how they would like to fish.
- A One said: "I'd like to get a job fishing with a large company, perhaps working on a large fishing boat where they would pay me regular wages."
- B One said: "I'd like to fish by myself and be on my own. Then I could work as hard and as long as I wanted, and stop whenever I liked."
- C One said: "I'd like to fish with a friend or with several friends. We would work together as equal partners and decide among ourselves what to do."
11. Three parents were talking about what they thought their children would have when they were grown.
- A One said: "I really expect my children to have more than I have had, if they work hard and plan right. There are always good chances for people who try."
- B One said: "I don't know whether my children will be better off, worse off, or just the same. Things always go up and down, even if you work hard, so you can't really tell."

- C One said: "I expect my children to have about the same as I had, or to bring things back as they once were. It is their job to work hard and find ways to keep things going as they have been in the past."

REMEMBER TO READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY AND NOT TO SKIP ANY.

12. Three people were talking about why they liked visiting a certain place.
- A One said: "I like visiting here because I can get away from my work and get a chance to be alone among the wonders of nature, where I can think about things and try to achieve a sense of balance, a measure of wisdom."
 - B One said: "I like visiting here because the people are so friendly, so hospitable. I always feel as if I were among friends, and I always have a very happy and wonderful time."
 - C One said: "I like visiting here because the people are so industrious and hard working. Over the years they have accomplished so much, built so well."
13. Some people were talking about the way children should be brought up. Here are three different ideas.
- A Some people say that children should always be taught well the traditions of the past. The old ways are the best, and when children do not follow them enough, things go wrong.
 - B Some people say that children should be taught some of the old traditions, but it is wrong to insist that they stick only to these ways. Children should also learn about any new ways that will help them in getting along in today's world.
 - C Some people do not believe children should be taught much about past traditions at all, except as an interesting story of what has gone before. The world goes along best when children are taught to find out new ways to replace the old.
14. There were once three hard-working young people. They had different reasons for working hard.
- A One said: "I work hard so I can get ahead in the world. The harder I work, the better my chances of achieving my ambitions."
 - B One said: "I work hard because I enjoy my work. Often, the harder I work, the happier I am."
 - C One said: "I work hard so I can know what working hard means. The more I understand about life, including the meaning of hard work, the wiser I will become."
15. There are three things a certain high school student can do this weekend: (1) His parents want to use the weekend to take the whole family to visit grandmother who lives in a community some distance away, and whose birthday it is; (2) The youth organization which the student and his friends like most has planned a two-day trip, and all the gang will be going; (3) The student himself has been busy for some time now getting ready and making plans to spend the whole weekend at home working at his favourite hobby. It would be very difficult for the student to change

his plans. Neither his parents nor his friends can change their plans either, but they leave the decision completely up to him as to what he will do.

- A He decides to go with his parents.
- B He decides to go with his friends.
- C He decides to work at his hobby.

16. There are different ways of thinking about how God is related to man and to weather and to all other natural conditions which make the fishery or the gardens a success or a failure. Here are three ideas about this.

- A God and people work together all the time; whether the conditions which make the fishery and the crops successful are good or bad depends upon whether people themselves do all the proper things to keep themselves in harmony with God and with the forces of nature.
- B God does not directly use His power to control all the conditions which affect the crops or the fishery. It is up to the people themselves to figure out the ways conditions change, and try hard to find ways of controlling them.
- C Just how God will use His power over all the conditions which affect the crops or the fishery cannot be known by man. But it is useless for people to think they can change conditions very much for very long. The best way is to take conditions as they come, and do as well as one can.

17. There were three men who each had a little shop. They lived in different ways.

- A One man kept his shop going all right, but he didn't work more than he had to. He wanted to have extra time to visit with friends, go on trips and enjoy life. This was the way he liked best.
- B One man kept his shop going all right, and he also didn't work more than he had to. However, he wanted the extra time, not so much to enjoy life by visiting and going on trips, but to understand more about things by studying and thinking. This is the way he liked best.
- C One man liked to work in his shop, and he was always working long hours, fixing it up, making it bigger, making it just as nice as he possibly could. Because he did this extra work, he did not have much time left to go on trips, to enjoy himself or to think. This was the way he liked best.

18. A certain high school pupil was not doing very well in school. Three other pupils were discussing the situation.

- A One said: "I think there's very little he can do about it. Some people just aren't born with what it takes to be successful at school. Everybody can't be smart."
- B One said: "I think he would do much better in school if he and his parents were better people, and lived according to right and proper ways."
- C One said: "I think most of it is his own fault. He should work harder and take more interest. Almost anyone can succeed in school if he tries hard enough."

19. Three people were discussing why they liked giving parties and going to parties.
- A One said: "I like parties because they are a good way to study people, to understand more about them and about life."
 - B One said: "I like parties because I enjoy myself so much with my friends, and we have a good time together."
 - C One said: "I like parties because getting to know people, especially the right kind of people, will help me get ahead in the world."
20. Three ladies were talking about why they liked being members of a certain club.
- A One said: "What I like most about being a member is the feeling of accomplishment I get when I work at, or raise money for, some worthwhile cause."
 - B One said: "What I like most about being a member is the feeling that I am learning more about worthwhile things, and becoming a better, more understanding and more complete person than I was."
 - C One said: "What I like most about being a member is the feeling of happiness I get from meeting with my friends, and having a cup of tea and a good chat together."
21. There were once three fishermen who carried on their fishing in different ways.
- A One man used to put out his nets and gear, work hard, and also set himself to living in right and proper ways. He felt that it is the way a man works and tries to live properly that has the most effect on conditions and the way the fishery turns out.
 - B One man used to put out his nets and gear, and afterwards look after them enough, but he did no more than was necessary. He felt that the rest depended mainly on nature, on the wind, the weather and the fish, and that nothing extra that people could do could change things much.
 - C One man used to put out his nets and gear, and spend a lot of time tending them and working at them, improving them, trying out all the new and scientific ideas about fishing he could find out about. He felt that by doing this he could prevent many of the effects of bad conditions.
22. The government has decided to provide a lot of work in your town. They suggest that the people of the town should have a plan for dividing up the work, but they don't say what kind of a plan. Since the amount of extra work that will be provided is not known, people have different ideas about the planning.
- A Some folks say that whatever work is provided should be divided in just about the same way that government work was divided in the past.
 - B Some folks want to work out a really good plan ahead of time for dividing whatever work will be provided.
 - C Some folks want to wait until the work is provided before

deciding how to divide it.

23. Some people in a town like yours noticed that the church services were changing from what they used to be.

A Some people are really pleased because of the changes. They say that new ways are usually better than old ways, and they like to keep everything--even church services--moving ahead.

B Some people are unhappy because of the changes. They say that church services should be kept exactly--in every way--as they were in the past.

C Some people say that the old ways for church services were best, but you just can't hang onto them. It makes life easier to accept some changes as they come along.

24. Three girls were telling each other what they liked best about their jobs. They all worked for the same big company, and earned exactly the same pay.

A One said: "What I like best about working for this company is that they let me work on my own, and make my own decisions. There is nobody bossing me."

B One said: "What I like best about working for this company is that the group I work with are all equals, and we decide as a group what we want to do."

C One said: "What I like best about working for this company is that I haven't much worry or responsibility. Whenever I want to know what to do, I can ask my boss."

25. Three men from different countries were talking about controlling the weather and other natural conditions. Here is what each man said.

A One said: "My people have never controlled the rain, wind, and other natural conditions, and probably never will. There have always been good years and bad years. That is the way it is, and if you are wise, you will take it as it comes along and do the best you can."

B One said: "My people believe that it is a man's job to find ways to overcome weather and other conditions, just as they have overcome so many other things. They believe that they will one day succeed in doing this and may even find ways of preventing destruction and loss of life from storms, fog, and ice."

C One said: "My people help conditions and keep things going by working to keep in close touch with all the forces which make the rain, the wind, and other conditions. It is when we do the right things--live in the proper way--and keep all that we have in good condition--the boats, the gardens, and the fishing gear--that all goes well."

26. Once a man was well equipped for fishing, with boats, nets, stage, store, etc. Most of this equipment was destroyed in various ways. People talked about this and said different things.

A Some people said that you just can't blame a man when things like this happen. There are so many things that can and

do happen, and a man can do almost nothing to prevent such losses when they come. We all have to learn to take the bad with the good.

- B Some people said that it was probably the man's own fault that he lost so much. He probably didn't use his head to prevent the losses. Men who keep up on new ways of doing things, and really try, almost always find a way to keep out of such trouble.
- C Some people said that it was probably because the man had not lived his life right, that he had not done things or lived in the right and proper way.

27. Here are three ways in which men may work.

- A One way is working on one's own as an individual. In this case a man is pretty much his own boss. He decides most things himself, and how he gets along is his own business. He has only to take care of himself and he doesn't expect others to look out for him.
- B One way is working in a group of men where all the men work together without there being one main boss. Each man has something to say in the decisions that are made, and all the men can count on each other.
- C One way is working for somebody else, for an owner or manager of a company. In this case, the men do not take part in deciding how the business will be run, but they know they can depend on the boss to help them out in many ways.

28. Three high school pupils were talking about what they thought they would like most about college.

- A One said it was the chance to take part in college and social activities, to really enjoy himself, to make new and life-long friends.
- B One said it was the chance to work better to prepare himself to accomplish more things in life, to be more useful.
- C One said it was the chance to gain wisdom and understanding, and to develop one's inner self.

29. A group of people were talking about having fun and enjoying themselves.

- A One person said that years ago people really enjoyed themselves. Folks today would have more fun if they lived more like people did years ago.
- B One person said that people today have more fun than people did years ago. As time goes on, people will enjoy themselves even more than they do today.
- C One person said that the ways of the past are often not suitable for the present, that times have changed. People today have just as much fun as people had years ago, or even more. Also, people today have just as much fun as people will have in the future, or even more.

30. Three men were talking about whether people themselves can do anything to make the lives of men and women longer.

- A One said: "It is already true that people like doctors are

finding ways to add years to the lives of most men, by discovering new medicines, by finding out about sickness, by studying foods, by vaccinations, x-rays, and so on. If people will pay attention to all these new things, they will almost always live longer."

B One said: "I really do not believe that there is much human beings themselves can do to make the lives of men and women longer. It is my belief that every person has a set time to live, and when his time comes, that's it."

C One said: "I believe that there is a plan of life, which works to keep all living things moving together, and if a man will learn to live his whole life in accord with that plan, he will live longer than other men."

B. YOUR FAMILY

The questions in this section, and in sections C, D, and E, are questions of fact, NOT OPINIONS. Please try to give the correct answers.

31. WHAT DOES YOUR FATHER (OR GUARDIAN) USUALLY DO FOR A LIVING? For example: brakeman with the CNR, operates his own passenger boat and has two employees, fishes with his own cod trap, fishes as shareman with a man who has two traps, drives a truck every summer for Lundrigans. If he isn't working now, tell about that. If he has more than one usual occupation (say he fishes by himself with a trawl in the summer, and cuts pulpwood for the A.N.D. Co. in the spring and fall) mention all of them. Describe all the ways he earns money in the run of a year. GIVE AS MANY DETAILS AS YOU CAN:

32. DRAW A CIRCLE around whichever one of these tells best how many months of the past twelve your father or guardian spent working for pay. (Include any time he spent fishing.)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

33. When your father or guardian is working at his usual occupation, which of these are true? (If he has more than one occupation think about the most important one.) Circle the letter in front of each statement that is true. IT IS POSSIBLE TO CIRCLE MORE THAN ONE.

a.....My father has a boss.

b.....My father's boss has a boss.

c.....My father has somebody working under him. (Don't count yourself or your brothers and sisters!)

d.....Somebody working under my father has somebody working under him.

e.....My father doesn't have a boss, and nobody works under my father.

34. What was (or is) the chief occupation of your father's father (your grandfather on your father's side)? Describe it as in question 31:
35. What was (or is) the chief occupation of your mother's father (your grandfather on your mother's side)? Describe it as in Question 31:
36. Which one of these items tells best about your father's education? CIRCLE THE NUMBER THAT COMES BEFORE THE ITEM. If you are not sure, circle what you think is probably right.
- 0.....Unable to read or write, except perhaps to sign name.
 1.....Grade 5 or less, and unable to read or write very well.
 2a.....Grade 5 or less, but able to read and write as well as most high school pupils.
 2b.....Grade 6, 7, or 8.
 3.....Some high school (9-11).
 4.....Finished grade eleven.
 5.....Some university education.
 6.....University degree.
37. Circle the number that best describes your mother's education.
- 0.....Unable to read or write, except perhaps to sign name.
 1.....Grade 5 or less, and unable to read or write very well.
 2a.....Grade 5 or less, but able to read and write as well as most high school pupils.
 2b.....Grade 6, 7, or 8.
 3.....Some high school (9-11).
 4.....Finished grade eleven.
 5.....Some university education.
 6.....University degree.
38. Did your father spend all or most of his childhood in this community?
 Circle the correct answer.
- YES NO
- If NO, where did he spend most of his childhood?
-
39. How many years has your father spent at each of these activities? CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH IS MOST CORRECT.
- (a) Working on the American or Canadian bases:
 0 1 2 3 4 5 7 10 15 20
- (b) Working in another place in the province of Newfoundland (not a base):
 0 1 2 3 4 5 7 10 15 20
- (c) Working outside Newfoundland (in Canada, the U.S.A., or in another country):
 0 1 2 3 4 5 7 10 15 20

(d) Serving overseas in wartime:
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

40. Did your mother spend all or most of her childhood in this country?
 YES NO
 If NO, tell where she spent most of her childhood:

.....

41. Did your mother have a job before she got married and had a family?
 YES NO

42. If YES, what was her job, and in what community or communities did she work?

.....

C. YOUR ACTIVITIES

43. About how many hours do you usually spend each week, counting weekends, at each of these activities? CIRCLE ONE for each.

(a) Listening to the music that is popular with your friends (records, radio, etc.):

0 1 3 7 10 15 20 25

(b) Watching television:

0 1 2 3 5 7 10 15 20 25

(c) Listening to the radio (news, music, everything):

0 1 2 3 5 7 10 15 20 25

(d) Going to the movies:

0 2 4 6 8 10

(e) Reading newspapers and magazines:

0 1 2 3 5 7 10 15 20 25

44. About how many hours each week, counting weekends, do you usually spend at each of these activities? CIRCLE ONE for each.

(a) Extracurricular activities (Activities sponsored by the school but not part of the regular program. They are usually carried on outside school hours, mostly after school in the afternoons. For example: school hockey or other school sports, school concerts, yearbook, school choir, etc.):

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15

(b) Attending meetings and other activities of youth groups sponsored by the church. (CLB, AYP, etc.):

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15

(c) Attending meetings and other activities of youth groups not sponsored by the church (Girl Guides, Air Cadets, OYB, etc.):

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15

(d) Attending church services:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

45. Circle the number that is in front of the answer that is correct for you.

0.....When I go to church, I usually go with my parents.

- 1.....When I go to church, I usually go with my friends.
 2.....I don't go to church.

46. Do you usually go to Sunday School?

YES

NO

47. How many evenings (after supper) each week do you usually spend not at home, but out with others about your own age? CIRCLE THE NUMBER.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

48. Do you date? Circle the number in front of the answer closest to being correct.

0.....No.

1.....Yes, but usually not oftener than once a month.

2.....Yes, but usually not oftener than once a week.

3.....Yes, usually twice a week or more.

D. YOURSELF

49. How old are you? (Nearest birthday.) CIRCLE ONE.

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

50. Circle your sex: Male Female

51. Circle the number in front of your religion.

0.....Anglican

4.....Pentecostal

1.....Roman Catholic

5.....Seventh Day Adventist

2.....United Church

6.....Presbyterian

3.....Salvation Army

7.....Jehovah's Witness

8.....Other. Please specify which one:

.....

E. YOUR RESIDENCE, VISITS, and TRAVEL

52. In what place are you now living?

.....

53. Have you lived there all your life, except perhaps for holidays and short visits? YES NO

54. If you answered YES to question 53, go on to question 55. If not, use the space below to tell where you lived and when you lived there. Use the margin if you need extra space. Start with the place where you are now living.

Name of Place	Province or country	My age when I went there	My age when I left
a.....
b.....
c.....

55. Which of these statements are true for you? CIRCLE ONE OR MORE. Count holidays and visits.
- a.....I have never been in another settlement.
 - b.....I have visited relatives or friends somewhere else in Newfoundland.
 - c.....I have travelled to other places in Newfoundland but I haven't visited anybody.
 - d.....I have visited relatives or friends outside of Newfoundland.
 - e.....I have travelled to places outside Newfoundland, but I haven't visited relatives or friends outside Newfoundland.

F. SOME OTHER QUESTIONS

There are no right or wrong answers for most questions in this section. Your FEELINGS AND PERSONAL OPINIONS are what we want to find out.

56. With whom do you usually discuss things? For each of the following items, place the figure 1 in the blank beneath the person who would probably have most influence in your final decision. Then place 2 under the person who would have less influence than the first, but more than the others. Then place 3, 4, 5 in order of their influence in this matter.

	Your Parents	Your Friends	Your Teachers	Your Clergyman	Yourself
(a) Deciding when to quit school
(b) Deciding whether to join a teenage club
(c) Deciding your career
(d) Deciding how late to stay out at night
(e) Deciding about personal problems

57. Place the figure 1 in front of whichever occupation is, in your opinion, most important to mankind. Place 2 in front of the occupation that you think is next in importance. Then place 3, 4, and 5 in front of the other occupations in order of their importance to mankind.
-doctorscientistfishermanclergymanbusinessman
58. Some people find it hard to pronounce "h" at the beginning of words. Some people pronounce "h's" that aren't there. CIRCLE THE NUMBER in front of the statement which tells best how you feel about this.
- 0.....This is one of the most serious errors in the English language; you should do everything in your power not to make it.
 - 1.....This isn't very serious, but it is better not to do it.
 - 2.....It doesn't matter whether you do it or not.

59. Do you sometimes have trouble with these "h's"? CIRCLE ONE.
 0.....a little trouble 1.....a lot of trouble
 2.....no trouble
60. For each of these groups, place 1 in front of the item you prefer most, place 2 in front of the one you prefer next, 3 in front of the next, and 4 in front of the item you prefer least.
- (a) Music and classical Newfoundland folk songs
 Singing: popular country and western
- (b) Dancing: square twist ballet
 ballroom
- (c) Food: hot dogs fish & brewis roast beef
 steak
61. Circle the item which tells how far you will probably go in school.
 0....grade nine 1....grade ten 2....grade eleven
62. Circle the number in front of the item which tells best what you will probably do after you leave school. Select one item only.
- 0....Go to work 4....Go nursing
 1....Get married 5....Go to commercial school
 2....Go to trade or vocational school 6....Something else
 3....Go to university
63. Describe the occupation you will probably have when you finish all your schooling. Answer the question as best you can, even if you haven't decided for sure:
64. In your opinion, about how much schooling do most young people need these days, to get along well in the world? CIRCLE THE NUMBER.
- 0....College degree plus additional schooling.
 1....College degree.
 2....Some college, plus business, vocational, or trade school.
 3....High school diploma, plus business, vocational, or trade school.
 4....High school diploma.
 5....Some high school and/or business, vocational, or trade school.
 6....Elementary school.
65. If you were given the chance to have whatever job you liked, what would it be? Describe it. Please answer the question even if you are not sure:
66. Which of these is most true for you? CIRCLE THE NUMBER.
- 0....All, or nearly all my close friends go to school.
 1....Most of my close friends go to school.

- 2....Some of my close friends go to school.
- 3....None or hardly any of my close friends go to school.

67. Have you answered every single question? PLEASE CHECK THROUGH ALL THE QUESTIONS CAREFULLY TO MAKE SURE. We bet you have left some out. When you have checked and are sure that all are done circle the figure 1 below.

- 1. There are no questions and no parts of questions that I have not answered.

Take this completed questionnaire, fold it and place it in the envelope which your teacher will give you. Let nobody see your answers. Seal the envelope and write your name across the front. Your teacher will collect the envelopes and place them with other material in a larger envelope and mail it to us.

Once again, thank you for your help.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

Address of School.....

Since the grade nine pupils in your school perhaps do not all live, or do not all usually live in the community in which your school is located, please complete one of these questionnaires FOR EACH COMMUNITY from which your grade nine pupils come.

3. Please circle the numeral in front of whichever statement best describes the work of most men in this community.
- 0....Most men do not catch fish, but work for pay all year round or most of the year right here in this community.
- 1....Most men do not catch fish, but work for pay all or most of the year here, or in one or more other communities.
- 2....Most men do not catch fish, and work for pay less than half the year, either here or elsewhere.
- 3....Most men fish during the season, and then work for pay at other jobs, either here or elsewhere.
- 4....Most men fish during the season, but do not get work at other jobs, either here or anywhere else.

If all of these statements are in your opinion completely inadequate to describe the work of most men in this community, would you please describe it in a blank space in this questionnaire.

4. About what fraction of the men in the community would you say are fishermen, including those who work on big boats that catch fish? Circle the closest of these answers.

0....None or hardly any	3....1/2 or more
1....Fewer than 1/4	4....3/4 or more
2....Fewer than 1/2	

5. If there are fishermen in the community, please make a rough estimate of the percentages of them who use each of these methods:

Handline%
Trawl%
Trap%
Dragger%
Long-liner%
Other. Please specify below.%

.....

6. About what fraction of the people in the community would you say are Anglican? Please circle the answer closest to your estimate.

None or	Fewer	Fewer	1/2 or	3/4 or
hardly any	than 1/4	than 1/2	more	more

7. Is there usually an Anglican clergyman resident in the community?
YES NO

8. Are Anglican services usually held every Sunday?
YES NO

9. Which Anglican organizations, or organizations sponsored by the Anglican Church are active here, that is, hold the usual meetings and perform the usual activities? Please circle all that are.

AYPA	CEWA
WA	CEAA
GA	Brownies
CLB	Cubs
Junior AYPA	Junior Training Corps
Boy Scouts	Brotherhood of Anglican Churchmen
Girl Guides	Men's Service Club
Altar Guild	

Others (please name):

.....

10. About what fraction of the people of this community would you say are either Anglican or Roman Catholic?

0....None or hardly any	3....1/2 or more
1....Fewer than 1/4	4....3/4 or more
2....Fewer than 1/2	

11. Please circle the letter in front of whichever statement best describes the road between this settlement and others.

a....This settlement is on the Trans-Canada Highway, or on a motor-car road connected to it; cars can drive to St. John's.

- b....This settlement is on a local motor-car road which leads only to a nearby settlement or settlements; cars cannot drive to the Trans-Canada Highway or St. John's.
- c....This settlement is not linked to another settlement by a motor-car road.

12. If you circled a or b in question 11, please circle the item below which tells the total length of time each winter the road between this settlement and St. John's is usually blocked with snow, ice, mud, etc., so that cars cannot make the trip.
- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| less than a week | two months or more |
| less than a month | almost all winter |
| a month or more | |

APPENDIX C

INDICES OF FACTORS INFLUENCING VALUE-ORIENTATIONS:
THE TREATMENT VARIABLESI. INDICES OF COMMUNITY POSITION ALONG
PEASANT-URBAN CONTINUA (H₁)I.1. Population (IBM 27)

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------|
| (A) < 50. | (4) 1000-1499. |
| (B) 50-99. | (5) 1500-2499. |
| (0) 100-199. | (6) 2500-4999. |
| (1) 200-299. | (7) 5000-9999. |
| (2) 300-499. | (8) 10,000-49,999. |
| (3) 500-999. | (9) 50,000 and over. |

I.2. Proportion of Inhabitants Engaged in Fishing (IBM 71)

- (0) None or hardly any.
- (1) Fewer than 1/4.
- (2) Fewer than 1/2.
- (3) 1/2 or more.
- (4) 3/4 or more.
- (5) Information not available.

Source of data: Community Questionnaire, question 4.

I.3. Degree of Industrialization (IBM 21)

- (0) Most men do not catch fish, but work for pay all year round or most of the year right here in this community.
- (1) Most men do not catch fish, but work for pay all or most of the year here, or in one or more other communities.
- (2) Most men do not catch fish, and work for pay less than half the year, either here or elsewhere.
- (3) Most men fish during the season, and then work for pay at other jobs, either here or elsewhere.
- (4) Most men fish during the season, but do not get work at other jobs, either here or anywhere else.
- (5) Information not available.

Source of data: Community Questionnaire, question 3.

I.4. Strength of Transportation Link with Outside (IBM 26)

- (0) On Trans-Canada Highway or road connected with it, open all year round (blocked by snow less than a week).
- (1) On road connected with Trans-Canada Highway but usually blocked a week or more each winter.
- (2) On road connected with Trans-Canada Highway but usually blocked a month or more each winter.
- (3) Local road only, but railway connection or all-year-round coastal boat connection here or nearby place.

APPENDIX C (continued)

- (4) Local road only, coastal boat service in summer only.
 - (5) No road but railway connection or boat service at least weekly.
 - (6) No road but regular boat service less frequently than weekly.
 - (7) No road, direct coastal boat service in summer only.
 - (8) No road, no direct coastal boat service, no railway.
- Source of data: Community Questionnaire, questions 11 and 12; timetables of the Canadian National Railway showing Newfoundland coastal services and railway services; Department of Highways Official Road Map; and the special end-of-the-year edition of the Daily News, 1963.

I.5. Proportion of Anglicans in Community (IBM 22)

- (0) None or hardly any.
- (1) Fewer than 1/4.
- (2) Fewer than 1/2.
- (3) 1/2 or more.
- (4) 3/4 or more.
- (5) Information not available.

Source of data: Community Questionnaire, question 6.

I.6. Strength of Television Coverage (IBM 20)

- (0) No TV.
- (1) Poor reception and very few sets.
- (2) Fewer than half the homes have sets.
- (3) Most homes have sets.
- (4) Information not available.

Source of data: Community Questionnaire, question 2.

I.7. Strength of Municipal Government (IBM 28)

- (0) Medium--city, town, rural district.
- (1) Weak--community, local improvement district.
- (2) None--unincorporated or inactive.

Source of data: Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, St. John's.

I.8. Regions (IBM 29)

- (A) Bell Island.
- (B) Channel.
- (0) Southwest Coast (Grand le Pierre to Isle aux Morts).
- (1) Placentia Bay and Burin Peninsula.
- (2) Conception Bay (St. Philip's to Carbonear).
- (3) Trinity Bay (Winterton to Catalina).
- (4) Bonavista Bay (Bonavista to Badger's Quay).
- (5) Northeast Coast (Joe Batt's Arm to Harbour Deep).
- (6) Northwest Coast (Norris Point to St. Anthony, including Griquet, Main Brook).

APPENDIX C (continued)

- (7) Labrador (except Happy Valley).
- (8) West Coast (Cape Ray to Reidville and Bay of Islands excluding Corner Brook).
- (9) All others (St. John's, Portugal Cove, Happy Valley, Windsor, Millertown Junction, Buchan's Junction, Petty Harbour, Bay de Verde, Botwood, Corner Brook, Milltown, Morrisville, Head Bay D'Espoir, Donovans).

Source: Student's Questionnaire.

II. INDICES OF FAMILY INVOLVEMENT
IN PEASANT OR URBAN SOCIETY (H₂)

II.1. Father's Occupation: Peasant-Urban Occupation Index (IBM 30)
(The usual occupation of father or male guardian).

- (A) Unknown.
- (B) No occupation (unemployed, sick, or dead for all or most of child's life).
- (0) Fisherman not otherwise employed (only occupation of any moment is catching fish; from humblest to highest fisherman; perhaps a little road work, seals, berries, ...).
- (1) Non-fishing marginal worker (seasonal worker less than six months a year, e.g. worker on summer fish plant; part-time worker, e.g. janitor of small school or post office).
- (2) Non-fishing traditionally-peasant occupation (farmer, small-scale lumberman without mill or employees, and with no other work).
- (3) Fisherman otherwise employed (substantial seasonal or part-time work, say in lumberwoods, highroads, construction).
- (4) Non-fishing strong seasonal or part-time worker (six months or more each year--woodsman, road construction, sailor, farmer-woodsman, farmer-butcher; perhaps several jobs totalling twelve months; janitor in central schools).
- (5) Year-round blue collar occupation (employee; self-employed with or without employees, e.g. machinist, mechanic, barber, butcher, taxi driver, truck driver, truck salesman, lumberman with mill or working in mill, steward including chief steward).
- (6) Year-round white collar occupation (office worker, bookkeeper, keeper of a small shop, welfare officer, fish inspector, insurance salesman, clerk).
- (7) Teacher, including vocational school teacher.
- (8) Professional other than teacher (clergyman, doctor, lawyer, accountant, M.H.A.).
- (9) Businessman (manager of branch of large firm such as Imperial Oil, industrialist, contractor for Bowaters with own equipment, big businessman or general merchant with three or more employees, owner of trucking company, wholesaler-owner of coaster or selling trucks, manager of large store, operator of tourist cabins, large building-contractor excluding self-employed carpenter with one or two employees).

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 31, 32 and 33.

APPENDIX C (continued)

II.2. Father's Occupation: Superordinate Index (IBM 31)

- (A) Unknown, or doubtful.
 - (B) Superordinate (usually directs or used to direct one or more subordinates, employees, sharemen, etc.).
 - (0) Non-superordinate (does not usually direct others).
- Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 31, 32, 33.

II.3. Father's Occupation: Present Occupational Status (IBM 32)

- (A) Unknown.
 - (B) Occupied about as usual.
 - (0) Sick, not working.
 - (1) Sick, working at less urban job than formerly.
 - (2) Dead.
 - (3) Retired, not working.
 - (4) Retired, working at less urban job than formerly.
 - (5) Unemployed (used to work but laid off).
 - (6) Laid off regular job and has less urban job.
 - (7) Laid off and going to school or trade-school.
 - (8) Not working (reason, if any, unspecified); or other than above.
- Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 31, 32, 33, 39(a), (b), (c).

II.4. Mother's Occupation before Marriage (IBM 40)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
 - (B) Did not work.
 - (0) Worked, but details not available.
 - (1) Domestic (house servant--maid, housekeeper, cook).
 - (2) Fishing (catching and making fish; cook on Labrador or schooner; not fish-plant worker).
 - (3) Fish-plant employee.
 - (4) Other blue collar worker (unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled--waitress, telephone operator, institutional cook or maid, nurse's aide, beautician).
 - (5) Shop clerk (grocery, dry goods, supermarket cashier).
 - (6) Office worker (clerk, typist, stenographer, secretary, book-keeper, bank teller, post office worker, telegraph operator).
 - (7) Graduate nurse.
 - (8) Teacher.
 - (9) Other professional (manager, keeper of small shop with no employees).
- Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 41, 42.

II.5. Parental Mobility along Peasant-Urban Occupation Index (IBM 33)
(Comparison of father's occupation with that of grandfathers)

- (A) Unknown.
- (B) Father's occupation more urban than that of both grandfathers .
- (0) Father's occupation more urban than that of one grandfather but same as other's.
- (1) Father's occupation more urban than one grandfather's, less urban

APPENDIX C (continued)

than other's.

- (2) Father's occupation similar to that of both grandfathers .
- (3) Father's occupation less urban than one, same as other grandfather's.
- (4) Father's occupation less urban than both grandfathers'.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

II.6. Father's Education (IBM 35)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) Unable to read or write, except perhaps to sign name.
- (1) Grade 5 or less, and unable to read or write very well.
- (2) Grade 5 or less, but able to read and write as well as most high school pupils; grade 6, 7, or 8.
- (3) Some high school.
- (4) Finished high school.
- (5) Some university education.
- (6) University degree.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 36.

II.7. Mother's Education (IBM 36)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) Unable to read or write, except perhaps to sign name.
- (1) Grade 5 or less, and unable to read or write very well.
- (2) Grade 5 or less, but able to read and write as well as most high school pupils; grade 6, 7, or 8.
- (3) Some high school.
- (4) Finished high school.
- (5) Some university education.
- (6) University degree.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 37.

II.8. Father's Travels: Years Working on U.S. Bases (IBM 37)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (B) Unknown (question perhaps misinterpreted).
- (0) 0 years.
- (1) 1 year.
- (2) 2 years.
- (3) 3 years.
- (4) 4 years.
- (5) 5 years.
- (6) 7 years.
- (7) 10 years.
- (8) 15 years.
- (9) 20 years.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 39(a).

APPENDIX C (continued)

II.9. Father's Travels: Years Working Elsewhere in Newfoundland (IBM 38)
(Not on U.S. base; not in present community).

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (B) Unknown (question perhaps misinterpreted).
- (0) 0 years.
- (1) 1 year.
- (2) 2 years.
- (3) 3 years.
- (4) 4 years.
- (5) 5 years.
- (6) 7 years.
- (7) 10 years.
- (8) 15 years.
- (9) 20 years.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 39(b).

II.10. Father's Travels: Working outside Newfoundland (IBM 39)
(In Canada, U.S.A., or another country).

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (B) Unknown (question perhaps misinterpreted).
- (0) 0 years.
- (1) 1 year.
- (2) 2 years.
- (3) 3 years.
- (4) 4 years.
- (5) 5 years.
- (6) 7 years.
- (7) 10 years.
- (8) 15 years.
- (9) 20 years.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 39(c).

II.11. Father's Travels: Years Overseas in Wartime (IBM 58)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered or unsure).
- (0) 0 years.
- (1) 1 year.
- (2) 2 years.
- (3) 3 years.
- (4) 4 years.
- (5) 5 years.
- (6) 6 years.
- (7) 7 years.
- (8) 8 years.
- (9) 9 years.
- (B) 10 years.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 39(d).

APPENDIX C (continued)

II.12. Father's Residence - Pupil's Residence (IBM 19)

(Comparison of father's residence experience--childhood community, places of work--with present residence of pupil).

- (9) Unknown (unanswered or insufficient information).
- (8) Unknown (possible misunderstanding of question).
- (0) Father's earlier residence much less urban.
- (1) Slightly less urban.
- (2) Same (childhood in present community, no travels).
- (3) Similar (childhood and/or work experience in same or similar communities. E.g., fisherman who used to fish in a similar community; those working less than five years in places not positively identified as more urban; similar equivalents--childhood less urban but several years working in more urban area.
- (4) Slightly more urban (those working away from home but on draggers, in logging camps, road gangs, overseas a few years; peasant community partly broken but not really urban community; usually less than ten years away).
- (5) Substantially more urban (prolonged association with urban society--working on U.S. bases, in mining towns, city construction work; time and quality of the association considered).
- (6) Much more urban (prolonged residence in urban society, especially outside Newfoundland, including war service; especially if accompanied by family).

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 38, 39, 52, 53, 54.

II.13. Mother's Residence before Marriage - Pupil's Residence (IBM 75)

(Comparison of mother's residence before her marriage, including childhood communities and communities of employment, with present residence of pupil).

- (A) Unknown.
- (B) In this country (although her place of occupation may be known, all that is known of her childhood is that it was spent in this country--typographical error in questionnaire; (see II.14).
- (0) Mother's premarital residence much less urban.
- (1) Slightly less urban.
- (2) Same (childhood in this community, no outside work experience).
- (3) Similar (see II.12).
- (4) Slightly more urban.
- (5) Much more urban (e.g. a pupil living in a small community but mother once worked in St. John's, Corner Brook, Grand Falls, Gander).

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 40, 41, 42; plus probes sent out when typographical error discovered.

APPENDIX C (continued)

II.14. Mother's Residence before Marriage - Pupil's Residence (IBM 76)

(Comparison of mother's residence before marriage, where the communities she worked are known but where the only information about her childhood residence is that it was in this country. This was due to a typographical error in the questionnaire).

- (A) Unknown home town, unknown place of occupation.
- (B) Mother's hometown known; see II.13.
- (0) Place of occupation much less urban.
- (1) Slightly less urban.
- (2) This community.
- (3) Similar.
- (4) Slightly more urban.
- (5) Much more urban.
- (6) Mother didn't work before marrying.
- (7) Place of occupation unknown.
- (8) Occupation and place of occupation unknown.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 40, 41, 42.

III. INDICES OF PUPIL'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCES (H_3)III.1. Comparison of Pupil's Communities of Residence, Past with Present (IBM 59)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered, or too little detail).
- (0) Past much more peasant.
- (1) Slightly more peasant.
- (2) Lived here all life, except for local visits or travel.
- (3) Lived here or similar place, except for local visits or travel.
- (4) Possibly more urban, e.g. here, with short visits outside Newfoundland.
- (5) Slightly more urban (considering time and degree of difference).
- (6) Much more urban (long residence in much more urban area or outside province or country).

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, questions 52, 53, 54, 55.

III.2. Hours per Week Watching Television (IBM 41)

- (A) Unknown (usually unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.
- (4) 5 hours per week.
- (5) 7 hours per week.
- (6) 10 hours per week.
- (7) 15 hours per week.
- (8) 20 hours per week.
- (9) 25 hours per week.

APPENDIX C (continued)

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 43(b).

III.3. Hours per Week Listening to Radio (IBM 42)
(News, music, everything)

- (A) Unknown (usually unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.
- (4) 5 hours per week.
- (5) 7 hours per week.
- (6) 10 hours per week.
- (7) 15 hours per week.
- (8) 20 hours per week.
- (9) 25 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 43(c).

III.4. Hours per Week Attending Movies (IBM 43)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 2 hours per week.
- (2) 4 hours per week.
- (3) 6 hours per week.
- (4) 8 hours per week.
- (5) 10 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 43(d).

III.5. Hours per Week Reading Newspapers and Magazines (IBM 44)

- (A) Unknown (usually unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.
- (4) 5 hours per week.
- (5) 7 hours per week.
- (6) 10 hours per week.
- (7) 15 hours per week.
- (8) 20 hours per week.
- (9) 25 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 43(e).

III.6. Hours per Week Attending Church Services (IBM 47)

- (A) Unknown (usually unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.

APPENDIX C (continued)

- (4) 4 hours per week.
- (5) 5 hours per week.
- (6) 6 hours per week.
- (7) 7 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 44(d).

III.7. Attending Sunday School (IBM 48)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) Usually attends Sunday school.
- (1) Does not usually attend Sunday school.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 46.

III.8. Hours of Activity in Church Sponsored Youth Organizations (IBM 46)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.
- (4) 4 hours per week.
- (5) 5 hours per week.
- (6) 10 hours per week.
- (7) 15 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 44(b).

IV. INDICES OF PUPIL INVOLVEMENT IN TEENAGE SUB-CULTURE (H_4)

IV.1. Size of Grade Peer Group (IBM 68)

(Number of pupils in grade nine, September 30, 1963)

- (0) 1 pupil (usually small one-room school).
- (1) 2-3 pupils (usually large one-room school).
- (2) 4-7 pupils (usually two-room, all-grade school).
- (3) 8-12 pupils (usually three-room all-grade school).
- (4) 13-20 pupils (usually nines grouped with tens and elevens or with grade eights).
- (5) 21-40 pupils (usually all nines in one room).
- (6) 41-70 pupils (usually all nines in two rooms).
- (7) 71-100 pupils (usually all nines in three rooms).
- (8) 101-142 pupils (usually all nines in four or more rooms).

Source of data: Department of Education.

IV.2. Size of School Peer Group (IBM 69)

(Number of pupils in grades nine to eleven, September 30, 1963).

- (0) 1-5 pupils (range one to four rooms, usually one room).
- (1) 6-10 pupils (range one to four rooms, usually two rooms).
- (2) 11-20 pupils (range one to five rooms, usually three).
- (3) 21-50 pupils (range two to eight rooms, usually four, or

APPENDIX C (continued)

two-room central).

- (4) 51-100 pupils (range six to sixteen rooms, usually eight, or three-to-five-room central).
- (5) 101-200 pupils (six-room central or regional, or twelve to fifteen all-grade school).
- (6) 201-341 pupils (regional of about eight rooms).

Source of data: Department of Education.

IV.3. Type of School the Nines Attend (IBM 70)

- (0) One-room all-grade school.
- (1) All-grade school (1-9) of two rooms or more.
- (2) All-grade school (1-10 or 11) of two rooms or more.
- (3) Junior high school (7-9).
- (4) Central high school (7-11).
- (5) Regional high school (9-11).

Source of data: Department of Education.

IV.4. Pupil's Hours per Week at Extracurricular Activities (IBM 62)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week (nearest).
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.
- (4) 4 hours per week.
- (5) 5 hours per week.
- (6) 10 hours per week.
- (7) 15 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 44(a).

IV.5. Hours per Week at Youth Groups (IBM 63)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 2 hours per week.
- (3) 3 hours per week.
- (4) 4 hours per week.
- (5) 5 hours per week.
- (6) 6-9 hours per week.
- (7) 10-14 hours per week.
- (8) 15 or more hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 43(b) and (c).

IV.6. Evenings per Week with Peers (IBM 65)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) 0 evenings per week.
- (1) 1 evening per week.
- (2) 2 evenings per week.

APPENDIX C (continued)

- (3) 3 evenings per week.
- (4) 4 evenings per week.
- (5) 5 evenings per week.
- (6) 6 evenings per week.
- (7) 7 evenings per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 47.

IV.7. Frequency of Dating (IBM 66)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) No.
- (1) Yes, once a month or less.
- (2) Yes, once a week or less.
- (3) Yes, twice a week or more.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 48.

IV.8. Church with Peers or Parents (IBM 64)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered, or spoiled).
- (0) Usually goes with parents.
- (1) Usually goes with friends.
- (2) Does not go to church.
- (3) Goes to church alone.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 45.

IV.9. Hours per Week Listening to Youthful Music (IBM 61)

(Records, radio, music popular with friends)

- (A) Unknown (unanswered).
- (0) 0 hours per week.
- (1) 1 hour per week.
- (2) 3 hours per week.
- (3) 7 hours per week.
- (4) 10 hours per week.
- (5) 15 hours per week.
- (6) 20 hours per week.
- (7) 25 hours per week.

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 43(a).

V. INDEX OF ENTREPRENEURIAL-BUREAUCRATIC
NATURE OF FATHER'S OCCUPATION (H₅)

V.1. Entrepreneurial-Bureaucratic Occupation Index (IBM 34)

(Based on usual occupation of father or guardian).

- (A) Unknown (or never worked).

Entrepreneurial

- (B) Independent fisherman, apparently operating alone with trawls, nets, pots, traps.

APPENDIX C (continued)

- (0) Independent fisherman with one or more sharemen.
- (1) Small farmer, shop-keeper, sawmill operator, mill-less lumberman, garageman, Esso distributor, butcher, taxi or boat operator, with at most one employee.
- (2) Merchant, businessman, coaster with several employees; doctor or lawyer in private practice; fisherman who owns dragger; large-scale farmer.

Collateral

- (3) Fisherman, shop-keeper, lumberman, etc., in partnership with siblings, other relatives or friends (father-son, brother-brother partnerships); may also have sharemen or employees.

Employees: Non-bureaucratic

- (4) Seasonal or part-time worker not mentioned elsewhere. (woodsman; construction or road worker; fisherman whose chief employment is non-fishing seasonal work; part-time worker in bureaucracy; dragger or other fisherman on wages but not employed all year; janitor working few hours a day).
- (5) Fisherman-shareman in trap or long-liner (not dragger).
- (6) Full-time blue collar worker not employed in a bureaucracy, or not specified as so working (e.g. worker in fish plant, fish firm or construction job, backstoreman, etc.).
- (7) Full-time white collar worker not employed in a bureaucracy. (e.g. shop clerk, book-keeper, manager).

Employees: Bureaucratic

- (8) Full-time blue collar bureaucrat (e.g. working on U.S. base, in armed forces, large mining company, railway, paper mill, telephone company, electric power company, government department, or vocational school).
- (9) Full-time white collar bureaucrat (e.g. civil servant, office worker, teacher, clergyman, manager of large company, railway station agent).

Source of data: Student's Questionnaire, question 31, 32, 33, 39.

APPENDIX D

LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM THE ANGLICAN
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Department of Education,
St. John's, Newfoundland,
November 18, 1963.

Mr. Hubert Kitchen,
9624 96th Street,
Edmonton, Alberta.

Dear Mr. Kitchen,

This is in reply to your letter of November 4, 1963.

We in this office are very much interested in your proposed study of the relationships between the attitudes, behaviour, and educational goals of high school pupils and the characteristics of the communities from which they come.

You have our permission to contact the principals of our Anglican schools and to solicit their cooperation in administering the questionnaires which you will be mailing to them on the above mentioned topic.

Cecil and I are particularly interested in your research because it is an unexplored area in this province and also because the results of your study may have implications for us in teacher placement.

We wish you success in your project.

Yours truly,

Roy L. Dawe,
Superintendent of Education.

RLD/ak

APPENDIX E

ANGLICAN SCHOOLS IN NEWFOUNDLAND WITH PUPILS IN GRADE IX DURING 1963-64, THEIR PRINCIPALS, AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE RESEARCH

School	Principal	Pupils in Grade IX		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
Arnold's Cove	Brown, Mr. Melvin G.	6		6	4	3	
Badger's Quay	Brown, Mr. Arthur	42		36	35	35	
Baine Harbour	Trowbridge, Mr. Roy	3		3	3	-	
Bay de Verde	Eady, Mr. Stephen J.	15		11	10	10	
Bay L'Argent	Head, Mr. Maxwell T.	16		11	10	-	
Bear Cove, W.B.	Morris, Mr. Fred	3		2	2	-	
Belleoram	Mullins, Mr. Donald	13		12	12	-	
Bell Island	Clarke, Mr. C. Lester	118		111	105	93	
Black Duck Cove	Dredge, Mr. Kelvin	1		2	2	2	
Blaketown	Smith, Mr. Edgar S.	5		4	4	4	
Bonaventure	Barnes, Mr. Robert John	6		3	3	3	
Bonavista	Hodder, Mr. Roy	38		30	29	29	
Boswarlos	Cumby, Mr. Roland W.	5		4	4	4	
Boxey	Cutler, Mr. Nathan	3		3	3	3	
Boyd's Cove	Hodder, Mr. Lawrence	5		3	1	-	
Brig Bay	Greene, Mr. Calvin	3		1	1	-	
British Harbour	Best, Mr. Harvey H.	1		2	2	2	
Brooklyn	Strowbridge, Mr. John B.	2		1	1	1	
Brookside	Smith, Mrs. Blanche	2		2	2	2	
Buchan's Junction	Wiseman, Mr. Wilfred S.	2		1	1	-	
Burgeo	Parsons, Mr. Cecil H.	30		28	27	27	
Burgoyne's Cove	Loder, Mr. E. Frederick	8		8	8	8	
Burin	Baker, Mr. Clyde	8		6	5	5	
Burnside	Sheppard, Mr. L. E.	5		5	5	5	
Burnt Island (Island)	Rumbolt, Mr. Roland	3		2	1	1	
Burnt Island (Main)	Collins, Mr. S. W.	4		3	2	2	

APPENDIX E (continued)

385

School	Principal	Pupils in		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
Cannings Cove	King, Mr. Austin L.	5		3	3	-	
Cape Ray	Skinner, Mr. Chesley	2		2	1	1	
Carbonear	Newell, Mr. Graham	21		19	18	16	
Cartwright	Rideout, Mr. Mervyl John	3		3	3	a	
Catalina	Pinsent, Mr. Cyril M.	54		47	46	39	
Chance Cove	Ghent, Mr. Cyril	12		12	12	12	
Change Islands	Blake, Mr. Frank L.	9		7	6	6	
Channel	Dolomount, Mr. Henry	100		80	70	70	24
Charleston	Hollett, Mr. Philip R.	3		3	3	3	
Clarke's Head	Collier, Mr. Norman T.	16		12	12	-	
Codroy	Fiander, Mr. L.	12		11	8	-	
Coffee Cove		2		1	1	1	
Cook's Harbour		8	8	-	-	-	
Coomb's Cove	Fiander, Mr. Otto	7		7	7	7	
Cow Head	Chislett, Mr. Allan	41		25	25	24	
Cox's Cove	Piercey, Mr. Wilson Charles	-		6	6	6	
Creston South	Barter, Mr. James	18		19	b	-	
Daniel's Harbour	Field, Mr. G. H. E.	10		9	8	7	
Dark Cove	Ingram, Mr. Henry C.	15		14	14	13	
Deep Bay	Hewitt, Mr.	1		1	1	1	
Diamond Cove	Skinner, Mr. Ralph	1	-	-	-	-	
Dunville	Samson, Mr. Albert M.	31		29	27	-	
Eastport	Purchase, Mr. Norman	44		37	31	31	
English Harbour West	Chapman, Mr. William A.	4		2	2	2	
Flower's Cove	Riggs, Mr. Frank	47		42	36	35	
Fogo	Brown, Mr. Thomas	-	19	a	b	-	
Foxtrap	Hatcher, Mr. C. C.	142		125	125	-	
François	Baggs, Mr. James	11		9	9	9	
Gallants	Frye, Mr. Augustus	5		6	6	6	
Garnish	Barnes, Mr. Jacob George	23		17	17	17	

APPENDIX E (continued)

School	Principal	Pupils in		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
Gaultois	Piercey, Mr. Harold	11		9	9	9	
Gillams	Bartlett, Mr. L.G.	12		9	9	9	
Gooseberry Cove	King, Mr. Tasker	13		12	12	12	
Goulds	Lane, Mr. B. R.	4		3	3	3	
Grand le Pierre	Dyke, Mr. George C.	2		1	1	1	
Grate's Cove	Meadus, Mrs. Vina Beatrice	11		10	10	10	
Greenspond	Combden, Mr. Gerald	10		10	10	-	
Griquet	Drover, Mr. Ralph E.	3		1	b	-	
Grole	Jackman, Mr. Harvey	6		5	5	5	
Happy Valley	Field, Mr. Fred	13		12	12	12	
Harbour Breton		10	8	-	-	-	
Harbour Deep	Jacobs, Mr. Melvin	9		8	7	7	
Harbour Grace	Morgan, Mr. Newton	48		31	27	27	
Harbour le Cou	Sheppard, Mr. Philip	6		6	6	6	
Harbour Mille	Wall, Mr. Lewis F.	12		5	5	-	
Hare Bay	Burry, Mr. David	8		4	3	3	
Hawke's Bay	House, Mr. Mack	9		4	4	-	
Heart's Content	Bull, Mr. Cyril	12		12	10	10	10
Heart's Delight	Warren, Mr. Eldred	10		10	7	7	
Henley Harbour	Reid, Mr. Clement	1		1	1	1	
Hermitage	Mullins, Mr. Calvert	8		8	6	6	
Hodge's Cove	Vey, Mr. Lester M.	6		5	5	5	
Indian Cove	Normore, Miss Myra	1		1	b	-	
Ireland's Eye	Hooper, Mr. George	2		1	b	-	
Isle aux Morts	Meade, Mr. Albert G.	16		14	11	11	-
Isle Valen	Williams, Miss Verna Y.	1	-	-	-	-	
Islington	Warren, Mr. James	11		9	9	9	
Ivanhoe	Drover, Mr. Edwin M.	1		1	b	-	
Jackson's Arm	Clarke, Mr. George	9		8	8	8	
Jacques Fontaine	Upshall, Mr. Clayton	3		3	3	3	

APPENDIX E (continued)

School	Principal	Pupils in		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
Jamestown	Pitts, Mr. N. C.	6		4	4	-	
Jersey Harbour	Coombs, Mr. Joshua Lloyd	2		1	1	1	
Joe Batt's Arm	Gill, Mr. Baxter J.	24		20	15	15	
Juniper Stump	Barrett, Mr. Harold	7		5	4	4	
Keels	Cullimore, Mr. Ernest	2		1	1	1	
Kingwell	Jarvis, Mr. John L.	8		7	7	7	
Lamaline	Greene, Mr. John B.	23		23	23	23	
L'anse au Clair	Horwood, Mr. William H.	4		1	1	1	
Lark Harbour	Gill, Mr. Frederick J. B.	19		14	12	12	
Leading Tickles	Smith, Mr. Malcolm	6		6	b	-	
Little Bay West	Blagdon, Mr. Reginald	1		1	1	1	
Little Harbour T.B.		1	-	-	-	-	
Little Harbour East	F.B. Barnes, Mr. Carl	2		2	2	2	
Little Harbour East	P.B. Meadus, Mr. Robert T.	2		2	2	2	
Main Brook	Pearce, Mr. Hector A.	4		4	3	-	
Markland		2	-	-	-	-	
Mary's Harbour	Gale, Mr. John E.	2		3	3	3	
McCallum	Bonnell, Mr. Howard	3		2	2	2	
McIvers	Burridge, Mr. Bertram	18		10	10	10	
Meadows	Drake, Mr. John C.	7		7	7	6	
Millertown Junction	Snow, Mr. Selby J.	3		3	3	3	
Milltown	Jackman, Mr. Theodore	26		21	19	19	
Mose Ambrose	Gilbert, Mr. Percy G.	3		2	2	2	
New Harbour	Ryan, Mr. Gerald A.	47		45	38	37	
New Perlican	Matthews, Mr. R. George	12		12	7	7	
Nipper's Harbour	Batstone, Mr. Gerald	2		1	1	-	
Norman's Cove	Kirby, Mr. Lorne	50		45	40	39	
Norris Point	Parrott, Mr. Kenneth G.	61		48	48	48	
North Boat Harbour	Simms, Mr. R. A.	3		1	1	-	
Paradise River	Granter, Mr. Francis Duncan	2		1	1	-	

APPENDIX E (continued)

School	Principal	Pupils in		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
Pasadena	Perry, Mr. W.	4		3	3	3	
Pass Island	Priddle, Mr. R.	6		6	b	-	
Petty Harbour	Burry, Mr. Hubert	8		8	7	7	
Pike's Arm	Peddle, Mr. Andrew D.	2		1	1	1	
Plum Point	Osborne, Mr. Matthias S.	1		1	1	1	
Pollard's Point	Parsons, Mr. George E.			3	3	3	
Port Ann	Whittle, Mr. Edward J.	2		2	2	2	
Port au Bras	Smith, Mr. J. Baxter	6		4	4	4	4
Port Blandford	Mifflin, Mr. A. E.	6		4	4	4	
Port de Grave	Bishop, Mr. Philip A.	10		7	7	7	
Port Rexton	Abraham, Mr. William	41		36	36	36	
Port Saunders	House, Mr. Emmanuel	4		4	3	-	
Portugal Cove	Peddle, Mr. Harry M.	19		18	18	18	
Princeton		17	17	-	-	-	
Purbeck's Cove	Osmond, Mr. Thomas	1		1	1	1	
Pushthorough	Hiscock, Mr. Conrad	8		6	6	6	
Ramea	Pollard, Mr. Hector A.	26		25	25	25	
Red Cove	Sutton, Mr. George J.	2		1	1	1	
Reidville	Reid, Mr. E. T.	6		6	5	5	
Rencontre East	Rees, Mr. David G.	11		10	10	10	
Rencontre West	Cox, Mr. Reginald	7		7	7	7	
River of Ponds Brook	Humber, Miss Maud	1	-	-	-	-	
River of Ponds Cove	Smith, Mr. T. Eugene	5		3	3	-	
Robinsons	Hounsell, Mr. Richard	32		30	24	24	
Rock Harbour	Sheppard, Mr. Carl M.	5		5	5	5	
Rooms	Simms, Mr. Wilson	1		1	1	1	
Rose Blanche	Price, Mr. Joseph	9		8	8	8	
Round Harbour		2	2	-	-	-	
St. Anthony	Rumbolt, Mr. Ross	34		32	32	-	
St. David's	Collier, Mr. John	5		5	5	5	

APPENDIX E (continued)

School	Principal	Pupils in		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	Grade XI April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
St. Jacques	Adams, Mr. Josiah M.	1		1	1	-	
St. John's-Blackall	Newhook, Mr. F. J.		33	17	b	-	
-Feild		51	49	-	-	-	
-Fort Towns-							
hend	Parsons, Mr. James	41		37	36	33	
-I.J. Sampson	George, Mr. Marcus	136		110	109	94	
-Spencer		66	67	-	-	-	
St. Joseph's	Peavy, Mr. G. K.	2		2	2	2	
St. Lawrence	Batten, Mr. Llewellyn	20		15	15	15	
St. Philip's	Young, Mr. Arthur G.	25		21	17	17	
Salvage	Smith, Mr. William J.	7		6	3	3	6
Seal Cove W.B.	Combden, Mr. Claude H.	4		5	5	5	
Shearstown	Sparkes, Mr. Victor C.	33		25	23	23	
Shoal Cove West	Tucker, Mrs. Julia	8		7	7	-	
South River	Mercer, Mr. James	15		16	14	14	13
Spaniard's Bay	Hedderson, Mr. William	43		37	34	27	
Spencer's Cove	Janes, Mr. Mervel K.	9		7	7	7	
Stephenville Crossing	Nurse, Mr. Joseph	19		19	16	16	17
Stone Valley		1	-	-	-	-	
Summerside	Spencer, Mr. John	4		15	15	-	
Sunnyside	Gardner, Mr. Reginald K.	7		5	5	5	
Tack's Beach	Dawe, Mr. E. Harold	13		11	7	7	
Torbay	Hiscock, Mr. James G.	2		2	2	2	
Trap Cove		4		-	-	-	
Trinity, B.B.	Rogers, Mr. Eric	24	-	23	22	22	23
Trouty	Collins, Mr. Clide W.	2		2	2	2	
Upper Island Cove	Taylor, Mr. William J.	102		86	86	-	
Victoria Cove	Brinson, Mr. Francis	9		7	6	5	

APPENDIX E (concluded)

School	Principal	Pupils in		Returns	Probes		Retests
		Sept. '63	April '64		Sent Out	Returned Answered	
Wareham	Spurrell, Mr. Henry	14		13	13	13	
Westport	Osmond, Mr. Raymond James	6		4	4	4	
Whitbourne	Pittman, Mr. Samuel J.	21		21	16	16	
Windsor	Martin, Mr. F. G.	25		17	16	16	
Wing's Point	King, Mr. Gordon F.	3		2	2	a	
Winterbrook	Batten, Mr. Charles	2		2	2	2	
Winterton	Lidstone, Mr. N. Wilfred	13		13	13	13	
Wreck Cove	Thorne, Mr. Ralph	3		3	3	3	
York Harbour	Perry, Mr. Brinkley	1		1	1	1	
Totals		2631	2544	2132	1946	1505	97

Note: The symbol "a" appearing in the "Returns" column or the "Probes Returned Answered" column indicates returns received too late to be used in the present study; "b" appearing in the "Probes Sent Out" column indicates that it was too late in the school year to send out probes.

APPENDIX F

PRELIMINARY LETTER TO PRINCIPALS

Department of Educational
Administration
University of Alberta
EDMONTON, Alberta
March 31, 1964

Dear Principal,

The Anglican Superintendent of Education, Mr. Roy Dawe, has kindly granted me permission to ask your help in what we both feel is an important research project in Newfoundland education. The interest shown and the assistance provided by him and by the Assistant Superintendent, Mr. Roebathan, have indeed been most encouraging.

The project is quite a large one, in that it involves all the grade nine pupils in Anglican schools in Newfoundland--2,600 pupils and 175 schools. It deals with the connection between the social and industrial changes presently taking place in Newfoundland communities, and changes in the attitudes, behaviour, and educational goals of our grade nine pupils. The completion of this project--upon which I have been working for three years--is the final requirement for the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Alberta. Perhaps I should mention for those with whom I am not yet acquainted that I am a Newfoundlander, and have taught in the communities of Joe Batt's Arm, Bishop's Falls, Upper Island Cove, Lower Island Cove and Grand Falls.

We are asking you and the principals of the other 174 schools to look after the completion of two sets of questions--a Student's Questionnaire, and a Community Questionnaire. The former is to be completed by each of the grade nine pupils in the school. The latter is a short questionnaire, one copy of which is to be completed, preferably by the principal, for each community from which his or her students come.

enclose

I have today mailed by parcel post.....copies of the Student's Questionnaire, and.....copies of the Community Questionnaire, together with return envelopes and instructions for administering and mailing the questionnaires. If these copies are too few, more will be sent upon request.

Each school's part in the study can easily be completed in one afternoon, since it takes the pupils just under two hours to fill out their questionnaire. I think you will find the project quite interesting. Our experience has been that the pupils enjoy answering the questions and are most anxious to make a worthwhile contribution to the creation of new knowledge. When the research is finished, the results will be made available to all who are interested.

APPENDIX F (continued)

Since I must finish this summer, and since the school year is already far advanced, I would greatly appreciate receiving the completed questionnaires at your earliest convenience. In anticipation, may I express my gratitude for your help, and wish you and your school a most successful year.

Yours sincerely,

Hubert Kitchen

APPENDIX G

PROCEDURES FOR QUESTIONNAIRES

THE STUDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

There are three problems in administering the Student's Questionnaire.

- (1) The first has to do with tapping the pupil's own opinions, uninfluenced by those of other pupils or adults. May we suggest that no blank questionnaires be left around before the project has been completed. Pupils should not know about the questionnaire until they start it, and before finishing should talk to nobody about it, except perhaps with the teacher as noted below.
- (2) The second problem is similar. We have found that when pupils know who will be reading their answers, the opinions they express tend to be those they think the reader prefers. They may not be aware of doing this. In some cases the reverse happens. To prevent all this, we are asking that each questionnaire be sealed in an envelope by the pupil. In any area where I might be known, it would be better not to mention my name or anything about me, at least until afterward.
- (3) The third problem is rushing. It usually takes almost two hours to complete these questionnaires giving them the necessary thought. Unless warned, some pupils tend to hurry through section A giving answers they would not otherwise give.

The following procedure has been found most effective:

1. The questionnaires are done in school under the supervision of a teacher. We suggest setting aside a two-hour block of time, preferably one whole afternoon session for the project. There should be no recess period and no opportunity for pupils to talk together about their answers.
2. At the beginning of the chosen session, the questionnaires are distributed, and two or three minutes are taken to impress upon the pupils (a) the importance of not discussing the questions, nor letting anyone else see the answers; (b) the importance of the whole project and its seriousness (The pupil should feel that he is making, as indeed he is, a very important contribution to knowledge by completing the questionnaire); and (c) the importance of working carefully and unhurriedly, especially in Section A.
3. When finished each pupil is reminded to make absolutely certain that he has not skipped any part of any question. Then, he is given one of the white envelopes which we have enclosed. He places his questionnaire in it, seals it, writes his name across the front of the envelope, and hands it back for mailing.
4. To prevent rushing, may we suggest that pupils not be encouraged to finish quickly in order to read library books, do homework, etc.

APPENDIX G (continued)

5. If a pupil does not understand the directions, or the meaning of a word, or if he has trouble reading, the teacher may explain. However, especially in Sections A and F, where the pupil's opinion is requested, special care is taken not to suggest the answers. Usually, few if any explanations are necessary.

6. All the grade nine pupils complete the questionnaire in the same school period. Please do not bother waiting for pupils to return to school, especially in cases of prolonged absence. If there happens to be in grade nine a pupil who is extremely backward academically, the questions may be read aloud to him and his answers marked down by himself or by the teacher. In this case the questionnaire is to be so marked. If there is a student for whom even this wouldn't work, his questionnaire is to be returned blank, with a note about the pupil's condition written across the front of it. Almost all schools will have no such pupil in grade nine.

THE COMMUNITY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. We would like one Community Questionnaire to be completed for each community represented by grade nine pupils. For most schools there will be only one questionnaire--for the community in which the school is located. Sometimes, especially where there are central or regional schools, some pupils may live in other communities and attend the school in this community. Occasionally, a pupil from another community may be spending the school year here, just to go to school. In such cases there would be more than one Community Questionnaire--one for each of the communities represented by grade nine pupils.

2. Usually, you, as principal of the school, will be able to complete all Community Questionnaires. However, another teacher, or a pupil who finishes early may do this. The important thing is not who completes them, but that they be filled in as correctly and as easily as possible.

CONCERNING MAILING

1. Please place the completed Community Questionnaires, and the envelopes containing the completed Student's Questionnaires in one or more of the large brown self-addressed envelopes that we have enclosed. The large brown envelopes hold up to twenty questionnaires, the smaller brown ones up to about ten.

2. Please send them to me by first class mail. Postage will be refunded and all returns acknowledged.

ONCE AGAIN, MANY THANKS TO YOU AND YOUR SCHOOL FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE

APPENDIX H

FIRST FOLLOW-UP LETTER

Department of Educational
Administration
University of Alberta
EDMONTON, Alberta
April 30, 1964

Dear Principal,

Last month, as part of the Newfoundland High School Study of the effects of industrial and social change on the attitudes, values, and philosophy of life of teenagers, we sent questionnaires to every Anglican school in Newfoundland with grade nine pupils. To date the response has been most encouraging, especially in the dozens of smaller places in the province, with many expressions of interest in, and enthusiasm for the project from both principals and teachers. Our plans are, when all is finished, to publish the findings and their implications for curriculum, methods, and school organization. We are presently making plans, based on the success of the Newfoundland research, for further work along similar lines in other parts of Canada.

Our records list your school as not having yet returned the completed questionnaires. We certainly appreciate how busy you must be at this time of year. No doubt you put the material aside, as I so often do, for "later attention." However, since it is important to have returns from the grade nine pupils in all Anglican schools in all parts of Newfoundland, in industrial as well as fishing communities, along all sections of the coastline and in the interior, we thought we would remind you before hectic June arrives. The whole project takes two hours at most, and the children enjoy participating. Moreover, the time spent is far from being lost to schoolwork, for, as one teacher of English pointed out, the questionnaire, besides being a valuable reading exercise, develops skill in following complex written directions--the sort of training that helps bring success in the Public Examinations.

As one Newfoundland teacher to another, I am indeed counting on receiving very shortly the returns from your school. If you have not received any questionnaires, or if you have mislaid them, I will ship more, immediately upon receipt of word from you. Of course, if you have already sent them in, please ignore this reminder.

Once again, thanks for your time and trouble. I hope to be able to express my appreciation by acknowledging in any publications that come out of this study all the schools and principals who have been kind enough to participate.

Yours sincerely,

Hubert Kitchen

APPENDIX I

SECOND FOLLOW-UP LETTER

Department of Educational Administration
University of Alberta
EDMONTON, Alberta
May 28, 1964

Dear Principal,

All but a very few schools have been heard from in connection with the Newfoundland High School Study--fewer than ten per cent. All indications are that the research will be very much worthwhile in enabling us to find out what it is that influences pupils' philosophies of life, and their ideas about the world. Preliminary analysis of the returns we have promises that when all returns are in, the findings will be both interesting and helpful to educators in Newfoundland, and, indeed, elsewhere.

Unfortunately, we have as yet received no response from your school. This is extremely sad, since we want so much to know about your area. If it is at all possible, please take two hours with your grade nines to complete the questionnaires and help make this project a one-hundred-per-cent success. A few schools have had the pupils stay after hours, or return in the evening or Saturday. However, in no case should the questionnaires go home.

Several principals have written in to say that the original questionnaires did not arrive. In case yours too were lost in the mail, or have since been mislaid, I am enclosing a complete new set of all the materials.

If you have already replied, ignore this reminder. I hate to keep hounding, and it is only because the project is so important that I continue to do so. Please do not let me and the other Newfoundland principals down.

Yours sincerely,

Hubert Kitchen

APPENDIX J

LETTER THANKING PRINCIPALS AND PUPILS, AND
REQUESTING COMPLETION OF PROBES

9624 96 Street
EDMONTON, Alberta
June , 1964

Dear

I am very much obliged to you and to your grade nine pupils for completing and returning the questionnaires. I enclose the postage you used.

The questionnaires were indeed answered quite well, despite their complexity. I enclose for some of the pupils one or more questions which they either omitted or answered in too little detail to be of most use to me. I would be grateful if you would have the pupils answer them under teacher supervision, and then return their answers to me in the enclosed envelope. The whole procedure should not occupy the pupils more than five minutes. Any pupil with questions 56, 57, or 60 may need guidance.

Now that returns are pouring in, we are beginning to think in terms of a 100 per cent response. Once again, many thanks for your help.

Yours sincerely,

Hubert Kitchen

APPENDIX K

SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCHOOLS ADMINISTERING
QUESTIONNAIRES IN JUNE

Ordinarily, questionnaires, when they have been returned from the schools, are checked, and, where necessary, supplementary questions sent to the pupils. Since the short time remaining in the school year now makes this procedure impossible, it is obviously important that the Student's Questionnaire be answered as carefully and as accurately as possible, with no omissions, and with sufficient details. This procedure should help.

Part A is to be impressed upon pupils about thirty minutes after they have begun; Part B about fifteen minutes or so before they finish.

PART A --- FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT

Questions

- 1-30 All of the first thirty questions are to be answered in the same way, with a 1 and a 2. (Some pupils have, in error, been adopting various other procedures with question 15.)
- 31 This is the most important and the most difficult question. Tell not just the employer's name (itself important), but the sort of work the father or guardian does. (Among other things I want to be able to classify as skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, managerial, professional, blue collar, white collar; and fishermen as sharemen, trap owners, others. Detailed, rather than brief answers should be encouraged. If fisherman, pupil should indicate the type of gear, who owns it, whether shareman or has shareman, length of time fishing each year. If road work, mining, lumbering, the sort of job should be specified. "Merchant" is not enough.
- If the father is dead, sick, or unemployed, the fact should be stated, plus what his occupation, his kind of work, his job, used to be.
- 34-35 Even if the mother's father or the father's father are dead, sick, or no longer working, their usual occupations should be stated in the same manner as required in 31. If pupils aren't sure, or don't know, they should be encouraged to state any notions they might have. (They will nearly always know if he wasn't a fisherman, white collar, etc.) Teachers or others may help in all factual questions.
- 42 Again, pupils should be pressed to answer, and not to leave out the name of the town or towns. (Paid domestic work is counted as a job.)

APPENDIX K (continued)

PART B --- SECOND ANNOUNCEMENT

First announce Part A again.

- 39, 44, 43 A frequent source of error. Pupils in error tend to omit one or more parts to these questions. The 0 should be used rather than the part omitted. Again, reply even if not certain and circle what is probably about right.
- 39 (b) Means not on a base, and not in the community in which the family is presently living.
- 56, 57, 60 Children sometimes use all sorts of incorrect procedures here. An explanation, plus over-the-shoulder supervision would help.
- 63-65 Some pupils omit one or both of these. Both, since they are different, should be answered.

Final check for omissions--pupils should realize serious purpose behind the research.

THANK YOU

APPENDIX L

LETTER TO PRINCIPALS OF SELECTED SCHOOLS
REQUESTING RELIABILITY RETESTS

9624 96 Street
Edmonton, Alberta
June 9, 1964

Dear

I am about to make the most difficult but the most important and the last request to you concerning the project in which you and your grade nine pupils have been participating. The request is one that I would normally not make at this time of year, but I have no other alternative as it is absolutely vital to the complete success of this research. But first a word.

All indications are that the investigation is going to produce findings with important implications for Newfoundland education, findings about factors underlying differences in pupils' ideas about life, their aspirations, their values.

Although earlier indications were that the statistical reliability of the scales comprising the Student's Questionnaire was sufficiently high, we must, as you know, be absolutely certain about this before stating our conclusions with authority. Otherwise, pupil differences may be due to weaknesses in the measuring instrument itself--the Student's Questionnaire. The best way to demonstrate its reliability thoroughly, beyond any doubt, is to have pupils who have already completed the questionnaire repeat the procedure. Accordingly, we are asking a few, specially-chosen schools to help us.

To enable us to determine this statistical reliability, we would like for your grade nine pupils who answered the questionnaire the first time to answer it again, in the same manner as before. I am sending under separate cover, by first class mail, a complete set of the original materials-- Student's Questionnaires, white envelopes, 1 brown return envelope, 1 set of the original instructions, but no Community Questionnaires. The procedure should be the same as last time, except that it will probably take less than one and one-half hours instead of the original two hours. Perhaps it can be fitted in during the hectic last day or second-last day of school. As before, there will be a postage refund, but please return any unused questionnaires, as I am extremely short of them.

APPENDIX L (continued)

Please ask the pupils to pretend that the original questionnaires were lost in the mails, or that they are answering them for the first time, impressing upon them the seriousness of the research, and their interest as science students. They should try, neither to remember nor to avoid their original answers. If you wish, you may explain to them along these lines:

These questions measure people's ideas in the same way as a weighing machine measures weight, or a ruler length. If the measuring instrument is to be a good weighing machine or ruler or questionnaire, it should always give approximately the same answer when weighing the same bag of sugar on repeated occasions, or measuring the length of the same piece of cloth, or measuring the fundamental ideas of the same pupil. That is why we are measuring twice the ideas of a number of pupils-- to see how good, how consistent, how reliable, how trustworthy, this questionnaire is.

Words to the above effect will perhaps convey to the pupils the importance, the seriousness of what they are doing, the truly important contribution they are making to social science. That they have been requested to repeat the procedure is not, of course, a reflection on their first attempt, but rather a tribute to it, since only one hundred pupils have been so selected.

Your may be interested to know that to date the response to the questionnaires has been greater than ninety-five per cent, and one hundred per cent seems within reach, a degree of co-operation so high as to be virtually unknown in research of this nature.

I cannot begin to thank you and your pupils for all the help that you have given me, and are giving me. I have no way to compensate either you or them adequately. I shall, of course, unless specifically requested not to, acknowledge schools and principals by name in publications. Also, I shall be pleased to send you a copy of whatever publication emerges. Some publication should appear before next June.

Once again, many thanks for your help, and good wishes to you and to the pupils for success in the June examinations.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. Kitchen.

APPENDIX M

INTERMEDIATE SHEET FROM WHICH PUPIL'S IBM CARD WAS PUNCHED

NAME Doc. J. v SCHOOL Bell Island No ✓

Man - Nature				Activity				Time				Relational			
	M _I	H	S		D	B	BB		P _r	F	P		C	Lg	I
4	2	1	3	1	1	2	3	2	2	1	3	3	1	3	2
	S	H	M _I		BB	D	B		P _r	P	F		Lg	I	C
18	3	2	1	7	2	1	3	9	2	3	1	5	2	1	3
	H	S	M _I		BB	B	D		F	P _r	P		I	Lg	C
21	2	3	1	12	1	3	2	11	3	1	2	6	3	2	1
	S	M _I	H		B	BB	D		P	P _r	F		C	I	Lg
26	2	1	3	17	2	1	3	13	3	2	1	8	2	3	1
	H	M _M	S		D	BB	B		P	F	P _r		Lg	C	I
16	2	1	3	20	1	2	3	22	2	1	3	15	1	3	2
	S	M _M	H		B	D	BB		F	P	P _r		Lb	I	C
25	1	2	3	28	3	1	2	23	1	3	2	10	1	3	2
	M _M	S	H		D _s	B	BB		P	F	P _r		I	C	Lb
30	2	1	3	14	1	2	3	29	1	3	2	24	3	1	2
					BB	B	D _s						I	C	Lb
				19	3	2	1					27	3	2	1

1	2 M-S	3 M _I -S	4 M _M -S	5 M-H	6 S-H	7 D-B	8 D _S -B	9 D-BB	10 B-BB
1	5	4	1	6	3	7	2	6	3
11 F-P	12 F-Pr	13 Pr-P	14 I-L	15 I-Lg	16 I-Lb	17 I-C	18 C-L	19	20
5	5	5	2	2	0	2	3	2	3
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
2	2	3	8	4	1	8	0	A	5
31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
0	B	2	8	2	2	B	0	0	1
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
0	5	0	1	2	2	2	0	2	3
51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60
5	1	4	1	3	5	1	0	4	6
61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
3	0	2	0	3	1	3	8	6	5
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
0	0	1	0	B	2	0	0	8	4

APPENDIX N

EXAMPLE OF BIVARIATE TABLE USED TO COMPUTE F

Strength of Television (20)

M-S (2)

	A ¹² +	B ¹¹ -	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	Usable Total
0				2	1	2	2						7	7
1				21	19	9	35						84	84
2				69	68	38	132						307	307
3				107	109	69	303						588	588
4				82	91	42	289	1					505	504
5				41	50	32	225						348	348
6				19	23	13	138						193	193
7				4	3	9	42						58	58
8														
9				6	6	6	24						42	
Total N				351	370	220	1190	1					2132	
Usable N				345	364	214	1166							2089
Total Score				1155	1255	761	4611							7782
Mean				3.348	3.448	3.556	3.955							3.725
$\frac{(\sum X)^2}{N}$				3866.74	4326.99	2706.17	18234.41							29989.72

Analysis of Variance

	d.f.	s.s.	Variance	s.d.
Between	3	144.59	48.2	
Within	2085	4023	1.93	
Total	2088	4168		

$$F = \frac{48.2}{1.93} = 25.0$$

From tables of F For

$$df_1 = 3, df_2 = 2085$$

$$F_{.05} = 2.60$$

$$F_{.01} = 3.78$$

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